the Pedis. I saw the two armies, the same day, preparing for the same battle. The Thongas were armed to the teeth, forming a great circle, all standing, shouting their war songs, gesticulating, jumping, imploring their chief to allow them to start. The Pedi warriors were sitting under trees, taking their snuff and apparently as calm as any other day.

During the Gungunyane war, the Thongas were brave, at least those not entirely dependent on the Ngoni king, who had not allowed his warriors to kill white men. The Rongas of Mpfumu especially showed great courage and endurance, and those who served the Portuguese in their Angola war have been praised as being very steady and reliable.

On the other hand everything seems to prove that military ability is not an ancient feature of the Thonga character, and that it has been imparted to them by the Zulus, who taught them the art of fighting during the last century, pushing them to the front in their battles and calling them "Mabuyandlela," "those who open the way." Before the Ngoni invasion, the Thonga armies were ignorant of the *mukhumbi* viz. the armed circle of warriors which is the basis of the Zulu military system; (See Part IV) : they used to form themselves into a straight line and, in their battles, very few men were killed. They were normal Bantu clans, viz. people living peacefully, occasionally quarrelling with their neighbours. The idea of conquest, of vast dominion, the system of an armed nation which Chaka and his followers pursued, was something new amongst South African Natives and was probably borrowed by Dingiswayo from the Whites. This fact ought not to be ignored.

Under a just European supervision, there is no probability that the Thonga tribe will change its peaceful and mild charcter.

3) *Physical characteristics of the Thongas.* It cannot be said that the Thongas possess a very distinct and unique physical type. They are generally of a dark brown colour, sometimes purely black, much darker than the Suthos. As a whole, their external appearance bears a much closer resemblance to that of the Zulus, but, as regards face and stature, they vary very much. You may meet Thongas with typical negro faces, broad lips, flat

852 834 731 always use, he says: "Abušayi, akhwari! This is the child! May he grow! May he become a man by means of this medicine of mine! May his perspiration be good; may the impurity go away; may it go to Shiburi, to Nkhabelane! (1) May the child play well, be like his companions. This is not my first attempt! You have given me these drugs; may they protect him against disease so that nobody may say there is no power in them, etc." After this prayer the doctor takes the little child and goes back to the central place of the village. The mother stays and washes her own body with the decoction, praying also to her gods (but without the *tsu*, as this has been uttered by the "master of the drugs").

751 854 177 757 The treatment of the biyeketa is also called "hungulo dja milombo," "the vapour bath for infantile diseases;" it is not a curative, but a preventive; it aims at ascertaining if the child is all right. If he has bad stools (a nga tlambi psinene) the mother will perhaps remember that she has forgotten to enclose him and she will call the doctor in at once. Should he fall sick, the biyeketa will not be performed again but the milombyana will be administered more frequently. However, it is of importance for the growth of the child. To neglect it is taboo! (2)

757 854 As for the cuts, sometimes they are followed by a second vapour bath, as if the doctor wished to cause the medicine contained in the smoke to penetrate through them into the body, in which case he will only "close" them later on by introducing a healing powder into them. Children generally cry when they see the physician... They dread the pain of the cuts. When the mother goes to the doctor's village, she takes with her the wood, the mat and a pot of beer or a fowl in payment. The physician's charge for a biyeketa is sixpence to one shilling or a hen or a pot of beer.

(1) Viz. to the end of the world. These clans are far away to the north, outside the Ronga country.

(2) I hear that the converts generally have not abandoned the biyeketa, but they do not allow the doctor to perform the sacrificial act and to pray to the spirits. Sam Ngwetsa, the children's physician of Rikatla used to pray thus: "O Father of mercy! I pray thee! I do not pray the dead but thee only who art in heaven! Grant us to see this child in good health, standing firm, this little lamb!"

524 177 Thonga boys are so fond of games that they even try to imitate those of the Europeans. In the accompanying illustration, they are seen sitting in two rows throwing some projectiles along the ground. I wondered what game this was, and was informed that these boys, having seen Portuguese officials playing billiards at the camp, had attempted to do the same, and this was the result!

C. THE AGE OF PUBERTY

I. *Circumcision rites.*

1) Spread and origin of circumcision amongst the Thongas.

857 As he grows up, the Thonga boy leaves the flock of goats and is entrusted with the care of the big cattle, oxen and cows, 881 when his father owns any. He becomes very proud, and tyran- 882 nises over his younger brothers; he calls himself their "hosi," 866 their chief, and sends them to work for him; in Maputju, big boys went so far as to scorn water brought from the pool by women, and only to use water specially fetched by small boys. If they grow so important in their own eyes, the reason is that special rites are performed on them during this period, rites which are calculated to give them great self-confidence. Amongst these rites, some have a direct relation with the sexual life and some represent only the entrance upon manhood. Let us begin with a study of circumcision, then we will take the other puberty rites and the habit of *gangisa*.

881 In a great many Bantu tribes, the age of puberty is marked 304 by ceremonies of initiation, often accompanied by circumcision. There is little doubt that circumcision was practised throughout the Thonga tribes in former times. It is still current with those Thongas who emigrated into the Transvaal, and this is not a custom borrowed from the Pedi clans, which have all preserved circumcision. Though the Thongas often receive initiation in Pedi schools, in the Spelonken, they possess their own schools

881 for the Nkunas near Leydsdorp. They have a special word for
304 the physical operation, *yimba*, (in Ronga *soka*) which is used together with *ngoma* (Sutho *goma*), the generic term for all the customs connected with it. (It must not be forgotten that the word *ngoma* is also used for other initiations, especially for the initiation of widows, as will be seen in Chap. II.)

881 Amongst the Ba-Ronga, circumcision was abandoned more
175 than a hundred years ago, before the arrival of Manukosi, and
304 they were called *Ba-butoya*, the cowards, by other Northern clans, who said they feared the sufferings of that cruel school. Mboza has seen some old Ronga men who had been circumcised probably at the begining of the XIXth Century. It is well known that somewhat later Chaka put a stop to the custom amongst the Zulus; it did not fit in with the new military system inaugurated by him. When the Ngoni general Manukosi invaded the plains of the Low Country, it is not surprising that circumcision disappeared in those clans also. The constant fighting which prevailed in those troubled times did not allow men to stay three consecutive months in a circumcision lodge. It was feared also that circumcised boys would be killed by the enemy, being unable to run away in case of an invasion.. But old men in the Bilen country assert that the *Ngoma* is a very old custom amongst the Thongas, and that it has long been practised by all their clans.

881 Is it possible to ascertain its *true origin* ? My informants,
177 Viguet especially, were convinced that the Ngoma was brought
363 to the tribes of the Northern Transvaal by the *Ma-Lemba*, and it
304 is a historical fact that, as regards the Ba-Venda of that country, the rite was adopted quite recently under the influence of the Ma-Lemba. These Ma-Lemba are a very curious people, living amongst the Thongas and the Suthos of Zoutpansberg, just like the Jews amongst the European nations, without a chief, without national unity, but with characteristic customs to which they adhere from generation to generation... They resemble the Jews in the fact that they do not eat flesh unless all the blood has been first carefully drained away. They dread eating blood above all else, and they shave at each new moon. They brought with them

l: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

881 177 663 the metallurgic art and introduced domestic fowls into the country. All these facts tend to show that they have had intimate relations with Semitic peoples, and they themselves declare that they came from the North by sea and reached the coast after shipwreck. Now they practise circumcision with great assiduity and hold a special position in the lodges of the Spelonken. They are called there the masters of the Ngoma (1). Circumcision is wide-spread amongst Semitic nations, and one might be tempted to infer from these remarks that the custom has been taught to the Bantus by Semitic masters. This is certainly true as regards the Ba-Venda in the Spelonken (2).

In South Africa the Ngoma is much older than the arrival of the Ma-Lemba (which can be fixed some time during the XVIIIth century). What happened in Spelonken, through the agency of the Ma-Lemba, during the XIXth century, may have taken place at some earlier date in the case of other South African tribes, and the Semitic origin of the Ngoma is quite possible, though there is no proof at present extant.

2) General characteristics of the circumcision rites.

881 115 I am treating here of the rites as they are met with amongst the Thongas of Spelonken especially ; my informants on this point have been Viguet, who was initiated some 60 years ago, and Valdo, a much younger man, who went through the rites 30 years ago; both are from Spelonken. There Thonga and Bvesha (Sutho) candidates enter the same lodges. A boy named Pikinini revealed to me the secret formulae as they are recited amongst the Nkunas (Leydsdorp). The rites certainly vary amongst the tribes and they 881 seem to have been simplified in late years, but there is a general resemblance between them all. Pedis have two circumcision

(1) I note in a paper by the Rev. W. A. Norton on the puberty rites of the Basuto (S. A. *Journal of Science* March 1910) that, if a Bushman is in a lodge, he takes precedence amongst the Suthos and that there circumcision is derived from the Bushmen just as it is from the Ma-Lembain the Zoutpansberg.

(2) See my paper on the "Balemba of the Zoutpansberg" *Folklore*, Sept. 1908 and also, "*Zidji*," my South African novel. Chap. II. (Saint-Blaise, Foyer Solidariste).

881 the chief must not be used by him to buy a wife. This would pollute the village (makhuma). It would cause unfortunate births (timbeleko) and ruin the life of the people.

The chameleon procession is performed in the villages of the main headmen of the tribe during the few following days till, at last, the ochre of the initiated is removed and they return home definitely.

SOME REMARKS ON THE CIRCUMCISION SCHOOL

177 881 241 822 881 The square form of the sungi sheds, so different from the circular form adopted by the Bantus for their homes and implements, might be the trace of a Semitic influence. But, on the whole, all these rites are closely connected together and their sequence is quite easy to understand.

The Ngoma is truly a puberty rite, but not a sexual initiation. The suspension of conjugal relations, and the prevalence of licentious language might give the idea that it is in direct relation with the sexual life. But these two phenomena are met with on other occasions, as we shall see, and seem to be characteristic occurrences in most of the marginal periods. Moreover boys of ten and twelve and men of twenty-five or more can occasionally be admitted to the sungi, and this proves that the school has nothing to do with marriage, properly speaking. Neither is the Ngoma a pure act of aggregation to a definite clan. Boys of one clan often go to the sungi of another chief to be initiated; they do not become his subjects by so doing. Even Thongas sometimes enter into Sutho lodges and Ma-Lemba have a special place in them. It is true that the Ngoma is the business of the chief. Only those who are really chiefs have the right to build a lodge. But though the initiated are exhorted to become good subjects of their chief, the intention of the circumcision school is rather to introduce the little boy *into manhood*, to cleanse him from the *bukhuma* (p. 58) to make him a thoughtful adult member of the community.

(See practical conclusion on Circumcision Rites at the end of Vol. I.)

II. *Other Puberty Rites.*

881 178 The Ngoma has disappeared in most of the Thonga clans, but there are a few other puberty rites which have been preserved all through the tribe.

1) THE CUSTOM OF THE EROTIC DREAM (Tilorela).

881 When a young man has noticed for the first time an emissio
195 seminis, he is said to have become an adult (a kulile, a thombile)
751 to have "drunk the nkanye." The nkanye is the tree from which the bukanye is made. It is prepared for the great feast of the new year. *To drink the nkanye* is an euphemism to designate the entrance into a new phase of life, into the age of puberty. According to Mboza, the lad must go early in the morning to wash his body, and that is all. But Tobane says that, in the Mpfumo clan, the family doctor is called; in a broken pot, he roasts pieces of skin of all the beasts of the veldt, together with some half digested grass taken from the stomach of a goat (psanyi). The boy must eat a little of this medicine and rub all his joints with it. This will strengthen him so that, when he has relations with girls, he will not be overcome (gemiwa) by them. This rite, which is very similar to the rite of the broken pot performed for infants, is connected with the "gangisa," the sexual habits of young people which begin at the time of puberty, as we shall see later on.

881 At this time also, the boy begins to wear the very primitive
291 clothing called *shifado* (sha ku siba, the thing with which one
177 closes, see Annotatio 1)[1]. In former times they wore only the *mbayi*,
789 a small cylindrical or conical object of woven palm leaves, which
832 was the national dress of the Thongas; the *shifado* seems to be of Zulu origin. It is very much valued as preventing contact with the earth, as a protection against ants and an aid to continence; the lads who do not wear it are blamed and accused of being *ba-nato*. The word *nato* means a magical medicine by means of which men of low morals throw men or women into a deep sleep during the night, enter the huts of other people and commit adultery with their wives.

2) THE PIERCING OF THE EARS (Ku tjunya, (Ro.), boshela. (Dj.).

881 This also takes place at this period. There are two ways of
304 performing it, either by an actual piercing of the lower lobe
177 with a thorn, or by cutting it with a knife. The first method

1 [See p. 516 In these categories or in 116 - Analyst]

881 is the old Thonga custom, and has been preserved by the women
304 in its original form, at least amongst the Ba-Ronga ; they frequently
177 pass a ring through the small opening thus produced. The second was practised by the Zulu-Ngonis, and was adopted by the Thonga men in order to resemble their conquerors. The result is an ugly hole. This is not a law imposed by the chief ; it is however universally observed. When a lad does not pierce his ears, his comrades mock him, saying. " U toya ! " " You are a coward! We shall put a spoonful of porridge in this big ear of yours! " (Viz. It will hold food because it is not pierced!)

881 The operation is performed in the winter by a man who
304 knows how to do it. Before it is begun, the boy bites the *ndjao*,
824 the root of a kind of juncus which is considered the best means
833 of strengthening the virile force. The doctor introduces into the hole a small piece of reed ; he takes it out every day to wash the wound and puts it in again to keep the hole open. As long as the ear is not healed, the lad must eat his food without salt : he must not go about in the kraals and partake of the porridge of other people, because this food might have been prepared by women having intercourse with their husbands (ba ku khila) and this would make him very ill (1). He must also keep away from girls. When he is healed, he takes away the piece of hard reed and replaces it by a pretty white object.

304 Some Thongas tatoo themselves, or used to do so formerly,
178 but this custom is disappearing and is now preserved only by women. We shall describe it in the chapter on the evolution of the woman, as well as the *hleta* custom, the pointing of the teeth.

It is probable that in former times the taboo character of these various ceremonies was more marked that now. At present they are merely a *shihila sha tiko*, a custom of the country.

(1) This alimentary taboo, as well as the interdiction of sexual relations, even of intercourse with married people, clearly shows that the piercing of the ears is a ritual passage. (p. 74).

836 of rattles, they sometimes stay with them till late in the night.
832 They bring them small presents, articles of clothing or other things, and thus obtain permission to have intercourse with them. Mboza described to me a very immoral meeting which sometimes takes place in these huts in connection with the *milebe* habit, and which is connected with this gangisa. It is impossible to give the details here. (Annotatio 5.)[1]

836 The gangisa custom is, from our point of view, very immoral.
831 Amongst Natives it is not censured at all, and it would be more accurate to speak of *amorality* then of *immorality*, amongst them, on this particular point. A boy who has no such flirt, no *shigango*, is laughed at as a coward; a girl who refuses to accept such advances is accused of being malformed. However Mboza told me he had never had a shigango himself and the abuse in this respect is not approved of by old people. In Manyisa, I heard of a young chief who was leading all the lads to gangisa and forcing the girls to accept them. The extent of this evil depends very much [644] on the character of the boys and girls. I may add that, as regards the young people of the capital, they are not allowed to practise the gangisa because they belong to the royal family and are closely watched.

When they become Christians, Natives readily accept our standard of morality, but cases of fornication are very frequent amongst converts, so much so that this has been rightly called the African sin! I mention this fact, but I must say on the other hand that thousands of pupils in our Native Institutions lead a very moral and continent life and do not seem to find any great difficulty in doing so.

839 If the gangisa spoils the whole life of the young heathen, it is
177 only just to add that they do not practise two vices which are prevalent amongst certain civilised nations, onanism and sodomy. These immoral customs were entirely unknown in the Thonga tribe before the coming of civilisation. Unhappily it is no longer so now, as we shall see in Appendix III on unnatural vice in Johannesburg.

836 Comparing the habits of the Pedis and the Thongas we observe
837 this strange fact: amongst the Thongas the unmarried girl is

1 [See p. 517 in these categories or in 116 -- Analyst]

556 ed by so many good things! Sycophants are not lacking, "Good
395 evening, son of so and so!" they say. "You are one of the
574 great men of the country." And in return for these and other compliments, the magnanimous Gidja shares his feast with his admirers!

Strangers are crossing the country and inquire where they can be received. "Go to Gidja" they are told. "A ni tshengwe, a fuya tshengwe" viz. "he is the possessor of a harem! He is not killed by famine! He has beer to drink every day! He can give food to poor people. Even then, some of it remains on the plate and is eaten by little boys and dogs in the square. There is always abundance there." And the travellers come and enter (khuleka) his village, after which they will tell in their homes the story of the magnificence of Gidja and extol his hospitality.

Thus the man who has succeeded in life becomes famous, his advice will carry weight in the discussions in which he takes part; he will perhaps be even more esteemed than the chief himself, though he does not enjoy the special prestige which the royal family owes to the blood running in its veins.

Conclusion: the greatness of an African is before all else a matter of pots, and the matter of pots is closely connected with polygamy!

885 During these years of mature age the evolution of a man is not
354 marked by special ceremonies. There is one custom however which is common to all, and which marks an advance in their social position. It is that of fixing the wax ring.

II. *Fixing the wax ring.*

885 Amongst the Soüth Africans, the crown is not the appanage of
177 royalty. All men having reached mature age have the right to
354 adorn themselves with it. It is true, it is not a diadem of precious
301 stones, but a large ring of wax. This custom seems to have a Zulu origin. The Ba-Sutho do not know it and the Ba-Thonga, who all practise it, have taken it from the conquering tribe which owes its fortune to the famous Chaka. This habit has spread all

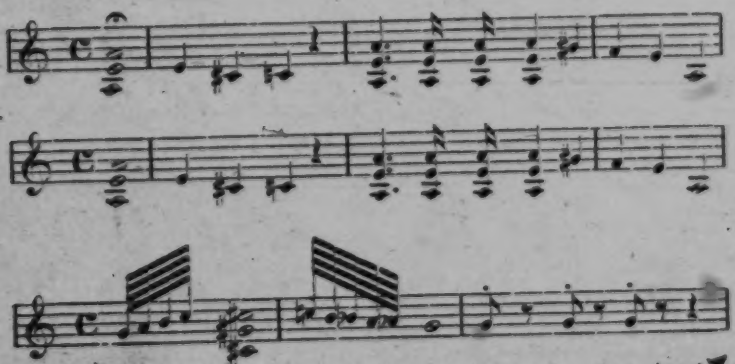
885 177 554 over the country from Maputju to the borders of Gaza, but only during the last hundred years. This black crown is called *ngiyana* (Ro.) or *shidlodlo* (Dj.), and the crowning ceremony is called *khehla*. From this verb has come the term *makhehla*, a name given to all those who wear this ornament.

885 301 527 This ceremony is accomplished in the following way. At a given time, the chief informs all the men of a certain age that they must prepare their rings. The counsellors and the sons of the royal family who belong to this " class " must go to the capital. Several oxen are killed ; the back tendons are carefully preserved and made into strings. This being done, the master hairdressers, that is to say those who know how to fix these strange appendages, are called in.

They come, supplied with small sticks (tinhlamalala, the central nervures of the leaves of the milala palm-tree) which they plait together with these strings made of tendons so as to form the skeleton, the circular frame of the crown. These strings are drawn through the curly hair, all round the head, so as to fix the frame of the crown above the temples. The remaining hair on the sides and behind has been previously shaven. The chief possesses a provision of wax ; the wax which is preferred is not that of bees, but the rosy secretion of certain grubs which is found on some bushes, and which the young boys of the capital go and collect. This wax is mixed with different ingredients to make it black. It is fixed on the frame of sticks and shaped into a large round or oval ring, as black as jet, which can be made to shine brightly. When all is finished, they eat the flesh of the oxen, enjoy themselves, dance and celebrate this great occasion!

885 301 The more humble subjects crown themselves in their own villages, where tonsorial artists come to adorn them. The poor go to the hairdresser, and do not use strings made of tendons (they have no ox to kill), but strings made of the fibres of a palm-tree, which are cheaper. It is said that nowadays palm-tree strings (bukuha) have almost entirely supplanted the others, the more so as they are not spoilt by the washing of the crown ; whilst, if the *ngiyana* is fixed with tendons, no water must fall on it, or it would soften.

Moreover the crown must be taken care of ; it can be spoilt

765 574 177 273 Mulalen was Sokis' little daughter. They bring with them presents, five hundred reis, a hen, a goat, some light beer, perhaps a mat for the widow because hers has been thrown away or a piece of mourning cloth. The inhabitants receive them politely, and spread mats on the ground for them. They tell each other the news (djungulisana). Then after having *luma*, they eat and drink. The Ba-Ronga have their drink already prepared: it is the red wine 765 539 which Banyan merchants sell to them all over the country. The visitors get drunk. They dance, and the mourning ceremony turns into an orgy with dances and songs of all kinds. The singing during this Great Mourning consists either of war songs executed by the men, which are very impressive, or of ordinary dancing songs, the licentious ones being particularly appropriate and being performed by women. (Annotatio 9)[1]. In fact they are the proper mourning songs, those which are specially chosen when it is wished duly to lament a great man. I have witnessed these performances at a mourning ceremony of the " breaking of the hut " and shall refer to this subject again. In Vol. II. Part V Ch. II. B. I shall quote some of the mourning songs which have a peculiar stoic character. Here are two others from a collection made by Mrs Audéoud, the wife of one of our missionaries. They were sung at the death of the chief Tshutsha, near Makulane in the Maputju country. One of these was a war song accompanied with drums. It sounded as follows :

1 [See p. 519 in these categories or in 116--Analysis]

765 783 516 anointed with the medicine. As regards adults, the operation of *maganyo* is performed as follows ; the master of the mourning passes his hand down from the knee to the toes. This rite[1] is evidently in connexion with the act of walking, which is thus purified, and with standing upright (yima), which means health and strength.

765 783 302 *Cutting the hair* is also a medicinal act amongst the Hlabis. The physician takes a broken pot, pours into it water and a purifying powder, washes the head of the deceased's wife with this preparation and cuts her hair with a razor. Everyone takes a little of the mixture and washes his own head, and they then shave each other. The hair is thrown away into the bush, not on the grave.

765 783 177 231 The Great Mourning is concluded by the *phunga*, the sprinkling, corresponding to the Ronga *shuba*, which is performed exactly in the same way while the water is still boiling. The doctor sprinkles a whole potful on the people ; then he pours fresh water into the pot and sprinkles the doors, the back part of the kraals of the oxen and of the goats. —"How about the pigs ?" I asked Viguet. He laughed heartily! —"The pigs? They are nothing ! They have come from the White people They are so new to the country that lately the Pedis killed them outside the villages and the men only ate their flesh!" The pig has no part in the Bantu ritual!

V. *Sexual rites of purification.*

765 783 834 This is a most curious and mysterious subject and, to understand it thoroughly, it is necessary to penetrate deeply into the Bantu mind and to forget our own conceptions of conjugal life. I hope none of my readers will be shocked by ceremonies which are evidently performed with the greatest earnestness and are a real aspiration toward purity, purity as it is conceived by a tribe still plunged in the dim notions of collective morality.

1 [among the Northern clans - -Analyst]

CONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

There is a special term in the Northern clans to indicate the relationship of two men who have married two sisters born of the same mother. They are called : bamakwabu ba shinauma, an expression which is the simplification of the following sentence : shi na wuñwe mamana, i. e. there is only one mother. This term seems to have been borrowed from the Pedis.

601 177

2) Relatives on the mother's side.

601 593 Tobane II calls Mishikombo *mamana*, mother. She is his true mamana and this relation is very deep and tender, combining respect and love. Love however generally exceeds respect. The proper word for tenderness is *timpsalu*, which comes from *psala*, to beget, and the mother is often called *mpsele* (a term which is applied also to the female of all animals). It is the word which answers best to the feelings of a mother for her children. She is generally weak with them and is often accused by the father of spoiling them.

601 604 The mother's sisters are *bamamana* in the second degree, because, if the true mother dies, one of them will probably take care of the children. Their husbands are *batatana* : Phayindi is tatana to Madonge and Muhambi. He calls them *bana*, children. Mboza is also a tatana to Mahlobo and Mathamba, being a makwabu, brother of their father, owing to the fact that he and Phayindi have married sisters.

601 578 595 All the co-wives are also *bamamana*, mothers by polygamy, (Ñwashihoni and Mishihari to Tobane). They are *bamamana ba shitshenigwe*, harem mothers. I respect them but they are further from me than my mother's sisters. A more familiar term for mother, corresponding to roro, father, is *ñwa*, a word always used with the possessive pronoun and only in the second and third person : ñwaku, your mother, ñwakwe, his mother. Ñwaku is employed in certain insults and oaths, and is to be avoided as being vituperative.

601 Many other women are mamana : the wife of my paternal uncle (Magugu for Muhambi), though I can inherit her in certain cases ; the daughter of my maternal uncle, because she is the

584 you are there, or on the road, have nothing to do with it. The
825 zebra is *mbalamberi*, an animal of two colours; moreover it has no
777 horns. The same holds good for the giraffe. It has two colours,
784 it has too long bowels. Psa yila! The reedbuck cries: "Dzoo." It is a witch: a mukoñwana must not eat it. For the same reason a sheep without horns is never given to bakoñwana.

7. When you go with women to the parents of your fiancée for a *shirwalo*, viz., to bring them beer, should one of the jugs fall to the ground, psa yila! Return home!

606 8. From a Thonga of the Maputju country I once heard that it
609 was a great taboo in that district for a man to drink milk with
787 his parents-in-law; let us say rather to *eat* milk, as Natives always take it in its solid form, i. e. curdled. This man was a
618 Christian; he had given up many heathen customs and had gone
825 so far as to partake of milk with his mother-in-law, but, the people
177 all round were very much shocked at his conduct. Pushing my inquiry further, I heard that the milk taboo was observed not only with bakoñwana, but with all the inhabitants of the country who did not belong to one's clan; curdled milk was to be eaten only with people bearing the same family name. In other words, it is forbidden to eat milk *in any village where one can take a wife*. In a very interesting paper published in the *South African Journal of Science*, 1925, p. 481, Mrs A. W. Hoernlé says that this custom is wide-spread amongst many Bantu tribes of Central and South Africa, and explains it by the very intimate relationship which is thought to exist between human beings and cattle. The oxen are one with the clan to which they belong, and only members of that clan can partake of the milk of their cows. I never met with this idea in the other parts of the Thonga tribe, and I may remark that, as the Maputju clan is settled very near to the Zulus and has been more or less "zuluised", this custom might very well have been borrowed from its neighbours. Further researches will show whether the other Thonga clans have preserved what seems to be a very old Bantu idea, or at any rate traces of it. This is quite possible.

584 9. Do not build a hut for your wife before you have married
777 her. Mankhelu says: "Even if you have plenty of money
784 to lobola, if you make such a blunder your wife will be taken from you.

In Shiluvane, I was in a very favorable
582 position to judge of the real feelings of the Thongas. There
177 were two tribes there, which had been living side by side for
609 more than seventy years, tribes united by old friendship and
648 military alliance, viz., the Nkuna clan of the Thongas and the Khaha clan of the Pedis. I did not see a single case of intermarriage between them. The difference of language could not account for the fact, because generally speaking, all the men could speak both Thonga and Pedi. When asked why they did not contract unions with the Pedis, the Nkunas answered: "Their customs are too disgusting for us." They meant more especially the freedom with which Khaha women commit adultery. Pedis would probably have made the same objection to the immorality of Thonga boys and girls. Whatever may be the cause, they have not intermarried up to this day.

582 On the other hand the Thongas are *exogamic* as regards the family. To understand properly these exogamic rules, let us classify the cases in the four following categories: Cases of absolute prohibition of marriage; of conditional permission; of unconditional permission, and cases in which marriage is recommended.

I. *Cases of absolute prohibition.*

582 As a rule marriage is prohibited between a tatana, mamana,
605 rarana and a ñwana, and between bamakwabu.

On the father's side the prohibition is particularly severe. Amongst the Ba-Ronga, it is taboo for a boy to marry a girl when both can lay claim to a common ancestor in the paternal line. It seems that the rule is not so stringent in the Northern clans. According to Mankhelu, marriage is absolutely prohibited between all the descendants of a grandfather, viz., between first cousins. Between second cousins it is permitted conditionally, "by killing the family tie," and between third cousins it is allowed. "Third cousins" as Mankhelu says, "are *batlandlamani ba tolo*; they belong to families which were relatives yesterday. We are

231 436 583 177 The scarcity of oxen, probably caused by the wars with the Zulus, was no doubt the reason why they were replaced by hoes. *Hoes* were universally employed from 1840-1870, together with oxen, when available. Ten was the regular price for lobola. Later on fathers asked twenty, thirty, fifty. They were first of native make ; the Vendas of Spelonken, near the Iron Mountain, provided the whole tribe for a time with that heavy currency, until the Europeans saw that there was good business to be done by supplying them. (See Part IV). Portuguese traders of Delagoa Bay began to send Natives to Gaza with guns and powder to hunt elephants, and paid them in hoes : twenty, fifty, one hundred hoes for a tusk, according to its size.

436 177 583 464 But hoes have also been superseded by the universal power of the *pound sterling*. After the death of Manukosi (1858), early in the sixties of the last century, some Zulus came to Delagoa Bay from Natal, sent by Englishmen to hunt elephants in Gaza. They told the people of the country that money could be obtained in Pietermaritzburg (Umgundhlovo) by working, and the first Ba-Ronga went *ku berengen*, viz., to serve white people there. In 1870, in the year still called Daiman by the chroniclers of the tribe, many more went to Kimberley, especially from the Transvaal colonies of Thongas, and gold coin began to spread amongst the tribe with all its usefulness and all its dangers. It is now becoming more and more current, as from 50,000 to 70,000 Natives of the Thonga tribe are working in the Johannesburg mines. First

436 177 583 of all £ 1 was worth ten hoes, and the lobolo money was fixed at £ 8 by the chiefs. But this price was soon considered insufficient by the parents. They wanted £ 10.10.0, ten guineas! They had already learned that, amongst cultivated people and in refined transactions, we talk of guineas and not of pounds! Later on it rose as high as £ 20 for an ordinary girl, £ 30 for a chief's daughter. The average round Lourenço Marques was £ 18 at the beginning of this century and in the Transvaal £ 25 (1). When a

(1) There is a tendancy constantly to increase the amount of the lobolo. Nowadays it is nearer £ 30 than £ 20. In this connection I may mention the following fact. A man named Mpunzi had payed £ 28 for his wife, and the matter was looked on as concluded ; but later on his parents-in-law came to claim £ 2 more. Why? They had purchased a wife for their son and had obtained her for £ 28 ; it was all right so

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when a

Banyan takes a native wife (or rather a concubine), he can get her for £ 10, and the father consents to this lower price, first because a "white man's" wife is better treated and fed than ordinary native women, and secondly because the Banyan will soon go home, to India, and this kind of marriage is tacitly looked upon as temporary. The influx of money had also the following unexpect-

Cattle in the Nkomati River near Antioka.

ed effect on the native custom. There are two kinds of lobolo: 1) the lobolo which a boy obtains from his sister's marriage, and which he employs with the consent of the family to buy a wife for himself; this is the true old-fashioned way for him to contract a marriage; 2) the acquired lobolo won by a boy who has worked for it, and who has *started a herd for himself* (tisungulela ntlhambi). This second kind of lobolo became much easier to procure under

far. But the people who had given their daughter for that sum wanted to lobola a girl and were asked £ 30. Therefore they claimed £ 2 from the bakoïwana of Mpunzi and these, in their turn, came to him asking for £ 2 more. And it was so arranged. This story fittingly illustrates the explanation of the lobolo which I set forth below: it is a compensation.

583 177 the new conditions, especially when a stay of a year or two in Johannesburg was long enough to save the necessary sum. Boys who had no sister, and who would have been destitute in former times, could then dream of a *tshenwge* viz., of marrying three or four wives! And they had this advantage that, their wives not having been bought with family property (their sister's oxen), no bakoñwana could disturb them in their domestic happiness, as may happen to those who marry by means of the first-mentioned lobolo.

This leads us to consider :

583 II. *The original meaning and the consequences of the lobola.*

As we have said previously, the only way of understanding the lobola, as well as other similar payments in kind which we meet with amongst a great number of uncivilized or half civilized nations, (1) is to consider it as *a compensation given by one group to another group*, in order to restore the equilibrium between the various collective units composing the clan. The first group acquires a new member : the second feels itself diminished, and claims something which permits it to reconstitute itself, in its turn, by the acquisition of another woman. This collectivist conception alone explains all the facts.

583 562 593 618 In this way, the acquired wife, though she keeps her shibongo (clan name), becomes the property of the first group. She is aggregated to it by complicated marriage ceremonies, representing the passage from one family to another. She is owned by the new family, herself and the children who will be born of her. She is not in any way a slave, but she is nevertheless owned. She is not the individual property of one man, but the collective property of a group. Hence the following facts :

1) Her whole family take part in the marriage ceremonies, especially on the day when the lobola is brought by the bridegroom

(1) See A. van Gennep, *Les Rites de passage*, p. 170. The *Kalym* of the Turko-Mongolians, the *Nyen* of Southern Thibet, etc., correspond to the Bantu lobola.

524 but one stone, a poor *tshonga*, he says: "I have only caught women!"

524 Fighting and hunting are great sports for Natives; hence the
127 popularity of the tshuba game. It has become such a passion
461 with the men that they neglect all their duties to indulge in it, and it has been necessary, in certain Christian villages, to prohibit the tshuba altogether, as the whole male population was abandoning its work for the game!

461 The *evening games* are happily not so dangerous for the moral
538 well-being of the village. Women who have worked the whole
517 day now have their innings. This is the *tha* par excellence, the
826 most refined amusement, the story telling. It takes place at eventide. It is taboo to *tha* in the middle of the day. Those who should transgress the law would become bald (!), and persons affected with loss of hair are commonly and jocosely accused of having told tales at midday. So, when the moon shines, when all the work of the day is ended, all the inhabitants assemble at one of the firesides to amuse themselves. They rarely gather together on the hubo for that purpose, as the square is reserved
524 for the discussion of matters of importance or for dances. The diversions at first consist of a parlour game, which is also known amongst Europeans, *guessing the charcoal piece (mhumhana)*. Two sides are formed opposite each other, women on one side, men on the other. One of the women, holding a piece of charcoal, puts it into the hands of one of the other partners, saying: "Dana, u shura ñwanaaaa'nga," (eat and be satisfied, my child). Then both present their closed hands to the other side saying: "Mhumha!" The man opposite must guess in which hand the charcoal is hidden. He flips one of the four hands with his finger saying: "Give me! Here it is!" If he has guessed rightly, he has won, and then proceeds in his turn to hide the charcoal in the hand of one of his own side. When they have had enough of this game and wish to finish it in the proper manner, *they pull their fingers* and make them crack *(ku ba tindjwati)*. Each of them pulls a finger in turn. The first who is unable to produce a sound is expelled from his side. Then those who have been beaten make faces, as ugly or funny as they can, at their victors; these must

576 is not as if they were trying to raise their hats, as they do not wear
609 any. The explanation of the gesture is this, according to a Transvaal Native : the Boers taught black people to point to heaven, when saluting a white man, with this meaning : I compare you with the One who is above!

576 In the Northern clans, salutations are generally accompanied
201 by a clapping of hands (omba mandla). Men beat their hands against each other, placing them parallel to each other ; women do the same, placing them crosswise or at right angles. Amongst the Ba-Pedi this salutation with the hands is performed in a somewhat different manner ; when a Pedi enters the hubo, and wishes to greet a gathering of men, he claps his hands before his breast ; but when he salutes only one person, he bows down and claps his hands at the height of his knees, either on the right side or on the left. Amongst the Ba-Ronga, clapping the hands is a sign of thankfulness ; they say as they do so : *I khani mambo*, which probably means : "I dance before you, Sir." ("Mambo"
576 means chief in the Ndjao language.) In Djonga the proper word for thanking is *nkomo*. The etymology of this word seems to be : "I homu," "it is an ox." If anyone gives me a hen, he presents it to me saying : "Take my chick." When he brings a goat he says : "This is my hen." In both cases I answer : "Nkomo," "it is an ox!" The Thonga etiquette requires that the giver depreciate his gift and that the receiver magnify it! Another less polite way of thanking is this : *Yengetan*!, — "do it again," or *ni mundjuku*, — "and also to-morrow!"

576 Thongas used not to *shake hands* in former times. Now-a-days
177 the civilised Natives have adopted the European fashion, but this kind of familiarity is not approved of by the old folks, especially by the chiefs. Natives, when they shake hands, often do it in two movements : first they catch the four fingers and then slide on to the thumb. I do not know where they have
832 learnt to do this! *Kissing* was formerly entirely unknown. A good mother would occasionally wipe her baby's nose, but this can hardly be called a kiss. When they saw the custom adopted by the Europeans, they said laughingly : "Look at these people! They suck each other! They eat each other's saliva and dirt!"

574 609 travellers be refused the customary hospitality in a village and incur misfortune later on, the chief will make the people of that village responsible and they will have to pay a fine. In Gungunyana's country, warriors were sent to plunder such a village. Lack of hospitality, however, is not considered as a taboo (yila), because "it does not kill;" it is a bad action (biha).

Now-a-days, customs are beginning to change; hundreds of young men (magaisa) coming from the towns after working there, pass through the country, and it would be impossible to put them up and feed them all. They sleep on the *bandla* and cook food for themselves, occasionally buying some mealies or a hen from the inhabitants. Moreover they have plenty of money and they can pay!

609 618 761 It must also be added that, if they dispense hospitality liberally, the Thongas can be very hard on people who do not belong to their special clan. Feelings of humanity are sometimes strangely deficient. I heard of a boy of the Manyisa district who had fallen down near the lake of Rikatla, unable to proceed further on account of a bad wound received while working on the railway at Lourenço Marques. Nobody took pity on him because he was of another clan, and he would have died there if a Christian woman, named Lois, had not received him in her village and nursed him. Fear of death and its contamination may partly explain this want of compassion for strangers.

784 643 677 As already mentioned, it was formerly taboo to enter the village square wearing boots. These boots consist of sandals made by the hunters for their long trips through the thorny bush. They were not allowed on the hubo. A subject was not permitted to sit on a mortar or on anything else; the chief alone could do so, and it was considered a sign of pride to sit on anything but the bare ground!

609 177 574 The habit of offering a concubine to passers-by is never met with amongst the Rongas as it is in other tribes. Now-a-days dissolute women may offer themselves. But they have learnt from white men this new kind of immorality.

On the fate of the Thonga Village, see Practical Conclusions. V.

551 come to this conclusion after a careful investigation. Here are
618 the only facts that I have discovered which may be said to
522 be connected with totemic customs.

The first is that the shibongo sometimes gives an opportunity for *more or less witty jokes*. There is, near Rikatla, a clan called *Shibindji*. Shibindji means liver. When a man of this group meets with others who eat liver, they say to him : "Come along, we are going to run this skewer through you and roast you!" Another clan is the *Ntcheko*; this word means a tumbler or a small calabash with an elongated handle used for drinking purposes (p. 50). At the bukanye time, when everyone is getting these calabashes ready for the feast, they say : "Alas! poor creatures that we are! People are going to carry us from one end of the country to the other, to dip us into their pots and drink out of us!.." And so on. This is not totemism. I have however met with four more facts which must be mentioned, and which are very interesting.

618 1) In the neighbourhood of Pietersburg a Thonga who belongs
551 to the Rikotcho clan, but whose shibongo is *Nwangwenya*, the son
177 of the crocodile, is said to "dance the crocodile" (tshina ngwenya). These Thonga words are the expression used by the Pedis to indicate their totemic customs, (ho bina kwena), not that there is any special dance or song performed in honour of the sacred animal ; this may have been the case formerly, but is not so now.

2) The laudatory name of the Nkuna clan is also said to be a *ntshupu*, though it does not imply any taboo. This word, which is unknown in other parts of Thongaland, corresponds to the Pedi *muthupu*, which indicates totemic animals. The Nkuna men like to be saluted by these words : "Nkuna! Homu (ox)! Nyari
618 (buffalo)!" There are a number of Pedi tribes who "dance to the
551 buffalo." Mankhelu assured me that, as the Nkunas have the
177 same totem as these tribes, they have a common origin, and have come from the same place in Zululand. This assertion is so evidently erroneous that he could not maintain it. The old man had not the slightest idea of historical accuracy: he had only unconsciously drawn the conclusion of a common origin from a similarity of totem. Moreover, in his set of divinatory bones, he used to represent his own tribe by a small piece of ox bone, just in

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

618 551 177 the same way as Pedi diviners do for their various tribes, representing them by the astragalus of their totems.

As regards these two incidents, they are easily explained by the influence of the Sutho tribes amongst which these Thongas have been living for a long time. Nothing of the kind is met with amongst the Thongas who have remained in their own country, and Maaghe, the Pedi-Khaha chief, assured me that this appellation of the Nkunas, Nyari, buffalo, is modern and borrowed from the Pedis. The Nkunas do not observe any taboo in connexion with the ox, and this shows that their totemic custom is a mere external imitation of that of the Suthos. These two instances might be called cases of *secondary* or *adopted totemism*.

618 551 178 Considering only the Thongas as compared with the Pedis, we might be tempted to conclude that the Thongas had preserved the old Bantu custom of naming themselves after their ancestor ; just as the Thongas used to add to that name other laudatory expressions, we might suppose that the Pedi tribes had adopted names of animals to glorify themselves ; in the course of time, the essentially totemic fears and taboos may have been introduced into the customs, owing to the importance given to the shibongo. This would be a rationalistic explanation of totemism. *A priori* it could not be said to be impossible. Though totemism appears to be a very old custom of humanity, it is not necessary, *per se*, that the Bantu tribes should have all passed through that phase of primitive belief.

618 539 178 3) I must, however, mention a third instance which shows that this notion of a community of life between an animal and a human group must have existed also amongst the ancient Thongas. There are, *in their folklore*, tales which seem to have been inspired by such old ideas now lost, especially the tale of Titishan, which I have published in "Les chants et contes des Ba-Ronga," page 253. A girl named Titishan marries a man. When she goes to her husband's home, she asks her parents to give her their cat. They refuse, saying : "You know that our life is attached to it." She insists, and they at last consent. She shuts the animal up in a place where nobody sees it. Her husband even ignores its existence. One day,

643 538 177 334 one refuses to be a chief. Thonga tales recounting the story of some one who succeeded wonderfully in life often conclude by saying that this person was given a territory and became a chief... which seems to be the highest reward of virtue or wisdom. Nowadays, however, one may meet with cases where the heir to the chieftainship, having become a Christian, renounces that high position because he feels that there is an incompatibility between the Bantu way of ruling and his new faith.

643 But it would be a great error to think that a Thonga chief is, or can be, an autocratic despot. This may have been the case with Chaka, Lobengula or Gungunyana, when the tribe became an amalgamation of clans held together by military power ; in order to maintain their usurped authority, these chiefs had to be cruel despots. But this is a late development in the Bantu political system. I am now only taking into consideration the primitive form of tribal life, which is the clan life.

For a chief dangers may arise from three sources : from his own character, from the Thonga system of government itself, and from the law of succession.

1) The character of the chief.

A chief who wishes to succeed in his government *must have a good character*. If he imposes taxation, he must not use his wealth in a selfish way. For instance, when women bring him a *shirwalo* of a dozen pots of beer, he must give them back one or two to quench their thirst. Moreover he must distribute most of the remaining pots to his men, who are on the *bandla*, always ready to share with him the advantages of his position.

Should he buy oxen with the product of the fines, he will be wise to slaughter one from time to time for his counsellors and for the whole clan. A chief who is good (a ni timpsalu) is said to *maintain* or to *save the country* (bekisa tiko). If he does not do that, he is severely criticised. Mubvesha, who used all his money to buy wives, and prevented all the men from seeing them, whilst he himself was too old to content them, was considered

645 If these men are intelligent, they acquire great influence with the chief and may even be able to impose their will upon him. This was the case in September 1894, when the young king Ñwamantibyane was prevented by his counsellors from obeying the summons of the Portuguese Government, who claimed his assistance in fighting Mahazule (See App. XI). They often act as a useful counterpoise to the autocratic power of the chief.

Lastly we find another category of Counsellors, those appointed by the chief in the various districts to act as overseers or magistrates, to adjudicate the petty differences of the people; they must refer to the capital all important affairs (timhaka), the quarrels which the head of the village is unable to settle, and all matters which can only be judged by the chief, to whom they are of the greatest assistance in his decisions, being past masters in the art of Bantu reasoning.

The tindjuna are thus a complete organisation, as necessary to the chief as they are to the orderly development of tribal life.

II. *The Favourites, or Messengers.*

644 / 177 When the chief is crowned while still young, he gathers around him a circle of personal friends of his own age who are called *tinxekwa*. This is a Zulu word, and it would seem that this custom has been borrowed from the Zulu court procedure. In Ronga they are called *tinyumi*, which means messengers, and they generally build a *lao*, viz., a bachelor's house, near the capital, to be ready to answer any call. They partake in the games of their royal comrade and also in his feasts, but they have no official authority.

III. *The Herald.*

On one occasion I happened to be the guest, together with one of my colleagues, of the chief Ñwamantibyane, long before there was any question of the war of Lourenço Marques. Stretched in

671 must remember this and, in order to enlighten the Native mind, they must try to find where these differences lie. But these are minor points, and the sense of justice is nevertheless one of the most striking and promising characteristics of the Bantu.

157 674 Before enumerating the various cases which can be brought before the Native Court, let me remark that, generally speaking, Bantus are very peaceful, law-abiding people, under normal circumstances; when protected against alcoholic excesses they are little addicted to crime. In the Blue Book for Native Affairs of Cape Colony, 1908, the Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territory comments on "the general docility of the Natives, the perfect immunity from crimes of violence, which the European population, male and female, enjoys amongst them, and the cheapness of police administration." He adds: "The policing of the Territories, including the Detective Force, costs only 7d. per head of the territorial population, or, counting Chiefs and Headmen whose functions are mainly administrative, 10d., against 6s. 3d. per head for policing the Colony proper. Reports from twenty districts comment on the paucity or absence of crime. Kentani, with a population of 34,000 did not furnish a single case for the Circuit Court. The Magistrates of four districts remark on 'the peaceable and law-abiding character of the Native,' the Magistrate of Kentani adding: 'when kept away from the drink curse'." (*Christ. Express*, Aug. 1908.)

I think the same report might be made in most of the districts of South Africa where Natives still live by themselves.

674 177 The state of affairs would be very different in the Town locations, where we meet with a great number of men and women of dissolute morals. They are often backsliders who have left the Mission Stations because they did not like to submit to the Christian rule of morality. So they have freed themselves from all restraints, tribal as well as Christian, and, if they have not entirely lost all sense of justice, they, at any rate, do not walk "in the paths of righteousness." I am here only concerned with clan Natives.

627 Gungunyana, executions were of frequent occurrence. When the
683 chief had condemned a man to death, he merely made a sign to
754 one of his executioners, who followed the unfortunate individual, as he went away into the bush, possibly quite unconscious of the fate awaiting him, and dealt him a heavy blow from behind with either club or assagay, killing him on the spot. Chiefs now only expel wizards or witches from the country, accompanying them to the boundary, or impose a high fine on them, keeping half of the amount. However there are still individuals who avenge themselves for the death of a relative on the suspected murderer by killing him. Such cases are not infrequently brought before the Courts of Pretoria and Johannesburg.

177 What is the duty of the civilised tribunal in such instances ? White
681 judges generally condemn to death a man who has killed a "noyi".
627 I know of cases in which even an induna who had hanged a "noyi,"
683 duly condemned by the Native Court, was himself considered a criminal
754 and condemned as such. This happened to our friend Mankhelu, one of the pillars of the Nkuna tribe, the General of the army... He only escaped death owing to petitions sent to the Boer Authorities by both Blacks and Whites. This happened, I think, in 1888. Are European judges right in pronouncing the capital punishment in such cases ? This is questionable. It is certainly erroneous to assimilate Mankhelu's act which, in his own eyes, is an act of justice, to an ordinary murder, and to punish him as an assassin. He did what he thought to be right according to his knowledge. The husband of a bewitched woman who kills the murderer of his wife is more blamable, because his act is not sanctioned by the authority of a regular Court. However neither one nor the other deserves death.

683 I fully recognise that such acts of the Native tribunals must be
754 stopped. A chief who accepts accusations of witchcraft ought to be punished, especially if it has been duly explained to him that a White Government does not allow any such case to be judged in the country. In the course of time Natives will understand this and the witchcraft superstition will dwindle away. But let us be patient with them, remembering that our forefathers of 300 years ago did exactly the same thing and burnt hundreds of suspected witches after having subjected them to horrible tortures.

In an essay on the subject published in the S.A.A.A.S Report of

175 These Zulus or Ngonis taught the tribes of the plain a system
177 of war much more cruel than the old one : "kill everything,"
726 — such is the rule. No exception is made except in the case
703 of women, who are taken prisoners. The Thonga clans readily accepted this new mode of fighting. They adopted the Zulu system wholesale, the proof of which is that all their military terminology is pure Zulu. Their apprenticeship began during the invasion ; the Ba-Ngoni seeing that the Thongas had a certain aptness for war, incorporated them into their own regiments and used to send them forward to the attack, as previously mentioned. They praised them by calling them the *Mabuyandlela* — those who prepare the way, — a kind of nickname which the Thongas have kept to this day and of which they were very proud.

721 However I do not think it would be unfair to the Thongas
175 to assert that the old peaceful basis of their character is still
703 preserved, notwithstanding this influence. We have had an opportunity of judging of their warlike capabilities during the war of 1894-1896 with the Portuguese. (See Appendix X, Short account of two South African wars.) The Natives did not fight from choice. While some of them gave proof of great endurance, and the army fought in some cases with a certain tenacity, Thongas and especially Ba-Ronga did not show themselves very able warriors. Want of discipline, mutual distrust, timidity resulting in frequent retreats, inability to follow up their successes, such were the main causes of their defeat. The wild soldiers of Maputju, who considered themselves the equals of the genuine Zulus, showed their courage only when there was no danger!

B. WAR COSTUME AND WEAPONS.

714 One day when we were comfortably seated under the beautiful tree at our station of Rikatla, a strange looking monster suddenly appeared on the scene, running towards us! The children fled and the women hid themselves... It was Charley, our milk-man, who, with some other warriors, was going to a military review, to be

714 in the Chaka army were distinguished by differently coloured shields.) On either side of the central line, from top to bottom, two parallel rows of small square incisions are made (magabela) through which are run strips of hide of a different colour, the effect being a series of oblongs. By an ingenious device the ends of these strips are so tied at the back of the shield as to form several sheath-like nooses into which is inserted the stick by which it is held. The space between the two lines of oblongs is called the back (nhlana) of the shield. The nooses or sheaths are four or six in number : two or three at the top, and two or three at the bottom, a space being left in the middle, where the warrior grasps the stick. This stick tends to strengthen the shield, but, being merely passed through the nooses, it acts also as a pivot around which it can turn ; it is this pivoting action which gives to the shield its chief value as a protection. An assagai (usually thrown with considerable strength) would easily penetrate the ox-hide, but when it strikes the shield, the force of the impact causes it to pivot and the weapon is deflected to one side: should it strike exactly in the middle, it would hit the stick, break it and lose all further impetus. It is hardly necessary to add that the *shitlhangu* of the South African Black is absolutely useless when opposed to bullets ; it was invented to protect the warrior against the dreaded assagai, at a time when firearms were not yet thought of!

713 177 During the last century the Ba-Ronga have begun to use guns for hunting and also for war. Although the sale of firearms to the Natives has often been prohibited, the Ba-Ronga were reported to possess several hundreds of rifles at the commencement of the 1894 war, and also to be fairly proficient in their use... very different from the Madagascans, who removed the sights from their rifles on the score that they were in the way when taking aim!

C. THE MOBILISATION OF THE ARMY.

202 726 643 In the Zihlahla country, when the chief wished to muster his forces, he did so by means of the *shipalapala*, the rudimentary trumpet which I described in the preceding chapter. A swift

535 An extraordinary war spirit comes over them all..." And every
703 one having witnessed these performances in the Thonga or Zulu mukhumbi will confess that they are wonderfully impressive. It is a mixture of dramatic, epic and lyric poetry, three literary *genres* which are still confounded, the whole being enhanced by a deep, wild music and subject to the laws of a certain artistic style.

703 The fighting instincts are excited to the highest pitch by these
643 patriotic choruses and dramatic representations. Thus should
726 the troops be slow in making a start, the young men go dancing to the chief and beg him to "grant them permission" to go forth and slay, or rather to "give them men" to slaughter (ku nyika). The Native idea appears to be that the chief holds the lives of the enemies in his hands; without his permission they cannot go forward, but this once given, they rush enthusiastically to the fray. They even go so far as to taunt him with being an old woman, a coward, because he will not let them go at once (1).

When the excitement has reached the culminating point, and it has been definitely decided to fight, the time has arrived for the magic treatment by which the warriors will be rendered invulnerable.

G. ADMINISTERING THE WAR-MEDICINE.

726 This custom is probably of ancient origin, but I have reason
177 to believe that, amongst the Ba-Ronga, it was practised without
789 any great formality until the advent of the Zulu influence, when
751 it was brought into much greater prominence and invested with more solemnity. "Drinking the war-medicine" took place on several occasions during the revolt of 1894 to 1895. At *Zihlahla* this potion was administered to all warriors before the rebel attack

(1) Gungunyana, on one occasion, when his warriors were importuning him with similar requests, sent the more ardent spirits to wage war unarmed against the wild beasts, and I was told they actually succeeded in capturing a leopard alive and brought it back to the chief!

J. SOME REMARKS ABOUT WAR RITES.

177/726 The war rites of the Thongas, whatever may be their origin — and they seem to be a mixture of old Thonga and new Zulu customs, — form a very interesting and complete whole.

The most noticeable are the *national rites*. In war time, the very 643 existence of the clan is threatened, because the chief, the central and 726 vital cell of this organism, is in danger. Hence the readiness of all 829 the warriors to answer to the first call of the *shipalapala*, and to gather round him, "building the circle," which protects him, the whole clan forming a single village and binding itself by the striking ceremonies of *guba* and by patriotic songs, to die for him. Notice that most of the *guba* songs extol the chief. All these customs in which the individual or collective courage is stimulated, the *guba* and the *gila*, are national or social rites directed towards the salvation of the clan. They owe their origin to the national idea.

But war also brings dangers to every warrior. Hence the *protective* rites of sprinkling the mukhumbi with the war-medicine of the clan; or of giving each man some of it to swallow. The rite is inspired by the notion *similia similibus curantur*, the idea being that the warrior, having eaten a small portion of the enemy, will become invulnerable to his blows.

But other rites, especially the war taboos, seem to owe their origin to the *idea of passage*.

726 The *whole clan* enters upon a special phase as soon as war has been 829 decided upon by the chief, "who gives it" to his warriors. Hence the 834 taboos observed at home, many of which are exactly the same as those of the circumcision school and of the period of mourning. We notice the same contrast already so often mentioned : certain sexual prohibitions are removed (e. g. a queen will enter quite naked into the mukhumbi!)

727 tions (before 1890). Three persons of that family died. The bones were consulted
775 and the diviner asked : "Have you not slain a Ndjao?" They answered: "Yes." —
761 "Then," said the bone-thrower "you will all die as this man has followed you." The bones showed that, in order to avoid the destruction of their family, the Ndzindzis had to offer a girl to the ghost of the slain, a living sacrifice. This girl would not be allowed to marry, or even to be courted by boys. Should she have relations with a man it would be necessary to replace her by another. Thus the angry ghost would be propitiated.

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APPENDIX II (See p. 40)

On Thonga names, nicknames and surnames.

553 As an illustration of the way in which the Thongas change their names, I give the story of those of Mboza and Elias.

Mboza was called at his birth "Mulamule," after his paternal uncle. The whole name was, in Zulu: "Mulamula nkwinzi izilwako," viz., "the man who calms the bull which fights." At about the age of sixteen, he changed it to Mahubula. At that time he was trying to collect divinatory bones in order to become a diviner. He had called one of these bones "Hubula," and after that his comrades began to apply the name to him. He was seized by the "folly of gods." (Part. VI). When he was cured of this pretended possession, the spirit which made itself known called itself Mboza. This was the name of a man of his village, his own nephew, who had gone to Johannesburg and had died there. When he became a Christian, and was baptised, 177 Mboza kept his name. Most of the Natives like to take another name 553 on that occasion, the name of a disciple or of a prophet. We are not very ready to comply with their wish, as we have already too many Daniels, Jonas and Petros, and Mboza probably yielded to this argument.

551 *Elias* was called "Shifenyo" on the day of his birth, after a man who happened to pass through the village. This visitor was a kind of beggar who used to follow people carrying food to the chief, hoping to get something to eat. The child was of a good family, but they gave him the name of this low and despised individual, a truly democratic act! When he was older, one of his friends said to him: "Your name does not suit you. Call yourself *Spoon*." He adopted the new appellation, and the women of his village used to make fun of him saying: "Come along, we will distribute the food with this spoon!" 177 When baptised a Christian he became Elias, a somewhat onerous 551 name, especially as our Elias is not as strong and perfect as a prophet ought to be... But Natives never shrink from assuming great names. They always feel themselves equal to them!

881 The names adopted at puberty by boys are very often European 177 ones. There are scores of Jims, Sams, Bobs, etc. They also adopt as 551 names European words or words of European origin, as: Spoon, Nglazi (glass) Komits'i (cup), Djass (jacket), Fulitshi (forage), Fifteen, etc.

838 entrance of the yard, come and "humutsha" i. e. make proposals to the
548 younger ones, not only to little boys (there are only a few of these) but
588 also to boys up to the age of twenty and more. If these lads consent to become their bakhontshana, they will be treated with greater kindness than the others. Their husbands will give them 10/ to woo them (buta) and will choose for them easy occupations, as, for instance, sweeping the dormitories, whilst the others will have to go to the hard underground work. Those who have not been chosen on their arrival by the policemen will probably receive a similar proposal from their older companions in the mine, and these men will then help them in the difficult task of "be hole" i. e. digging their hole. But the "husband" will have not only to woo this peculiar kind of *nsati* (wife) ; he must also *lobola* her, and a feast sometimes takes place when as much as £ 25 is put on the ground, a goat is killed and a real contract made which binds the nkhontshana to his master for the whole time he remains in the Compounds. The elder brother of the boy will receive the money in this disgusting parody of the Bantu marriage.

Sometimes the husband pays his nkhontshana at the end of each month as much as £ 1.10 and this represents a big increase in the earnings of the boy.

What happens when the contract is broken ? The "husband" claims the money remitted by him. If the boy refuses to return it the matter may be brought before the Compound Manager, who generally dismisses the plaintiff, saying : "If the boy does not love you any more, let him go."

839 The cause of the evil is not difficult to detect : it is the segregation
111 of the Native miners in these enormous conglomerations of males, far
548 from home, far from their wives, a most abnormal condition of life for
588 men who have always enjoyed the freedom of the African bush. When prostitutes were allowed to live near the Compounds, unnatural vice was not so common ; when they were driven out, bukhontshana at once increased enormously, and thus the disappearance of one evil brought a new one in its train. On the other hand, my informant asserted that Thongas (Matshanganas, as they are called in Johannesburg) had never much frequented the haunts of prostitution, from fear of venereal diseases. They prefered a nkhontshana ; the danger was not so great! As the word nkontshana comes from the Bilen country, the home of the Matshanganas, it might be thought that this vice was known and practised amongst Natives before it took on such extensive proportions in the Compounds. There is an old Thonga song which

839 177 548 588 says: "You, nkhontshana, get up, the cocks are crowing, be not surprised by the rising sun." This song warns the girl who has gone during the night to sleep in the lao, the boys' hut, that she had better run away at once lest she should be found in a place where she ought not to be. But it is a girl who is meant here and not a Johannesburg nkhontshana! No! Greek heathenism knew this refinement of immorality and indulged in it, but Bantu heathenism, whatever may be its corruption, never dreamed of it. Even to-day, though it is said to have penetrated into some parts (as in the Maputju country), the Native kraal feels a real abhorrence of it. I was told the following story. A man, in Bilen, had married a woman; he came to the Rand and took his wife's brother as his nkhontshana. When he returned home, his parents-in-law were very angry with him; they gave him back the lobolo money and took their daughter from him, saying: "You are a hyena! You are a wizard! You might as well sin with your mother-in-law!"... Unnatural vice was taught to the South African Bantus by 839 177 men of a foreign race; it first invaded the prisons; now it is raging in these big Native miners' settlements, where it is deflouring the Bantu youth. For if it does not immediately destroy their physical strength, this perversion of one of the most essential functions of man corrupts the sources of moral stamina and endangers the foundations of Bantu social life.

Is there no remedy for this terrible evil?

The worst aspect of the situation is that the immense majority of the Natives themselves do not consider this sin as of any importance 839 684 548 at all. They speak of it with laughter. I was told that it is severely prohibited by law and that any boy found guilty of bukhontshana is condemned to twelve months' imprisonment. But it is extremely difficult to bring the evidence necessary for conviction. The indunas and Native policemen enter into a conspiration of silence, being themselves the first and greatest sinners in this respect. Happily the Mission is fighting the evil as energetically as possible and the Compound Managers help its agents to secure separate dormitories, where a certain number of boys can find a refuge against contamination. A few hundreds or thousands escape in this way, but what is that in comparison with the tens of thousands who are exposed to this frightful temptation in the Compounds fittingly spoken of, by a wise South African statesman, as the University of crime?

839 548 My informant, who was perfectly acquainted with the circumstances of life in the Compounds, mentioned the following measures which he

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APPENDIX V (See p. 226)

593/858/177/797 As an example of *the absolute obedience due to the father*, I may quote the testimony of the Rev. Calvin Maphophe, one of the Native ministers of the Swiss Mission, now living in Lourenço Marques. It illustrates vividly the painful conflict which takes place in the heart of a Bantu boy when he is faced with the dilemma of either obeying a heathen father who forbids him to become a Christian, or going against the paternal will and joining the Church.

One day one of the little shepherds belonging to Maphophe's village in the Spelonken brought to his comrades an astonishing piece of news. He had gone to the missionary station and heard a white man say that there is a God in heaven and that this God created all things. His words were received with absolute incredulity by the company of [773] boys herding the goats; they answered: "It is an impossibility! Do we not know that the first man and woman came out of a reed?" However young Matsivi (this was the name of Calvin Maphophe) and his brother Shihosi wished to set their minds at rest about the matter and they began to attend the service on Sundays. They were so struck by the message heard in the little church that they decided to learn more of this extraordinary teaching of the White people, and every Sunday they went to the Station. One of the men of the tribe informed their father that they were assiduous attendants at the Christian services. Maphophe called together all the men of his village and summoned the two boys before this tribunal. Pointing his finger at them he said: "These boys have dared to go to the White people and hear things which are dangerous to us. We do not wish them to become insane! Take it to heart both of you. It is over. Henceforth you must never go again to the village of the Whites. If you disobey, you will be beaten."

The two boys were terribly moved by their father's words. It is a recognised principle in the Bantu tribe that a child who wishes to do right must obey his father, and they were anxious to behave well... But the attraction they felt for the new teaching was too great. They solved the problem by running away from their home. This is not the place to tell the end of the story. It may be found in a little pamphlet "Le Pasteur Calvin Mapopé" published by the headquarters of the Swiss Romande Mission (2, Chemin des Cèdres, Lausanne).

587 the chief of our Mazwaya family, Magomanyama, says that no claim is accepted for a leper, for one drowned in the river, or for anyone who dies from smallpox or from the assagay."

692 177 Of course the Ngwetsas did not accept such an answer, but this is a typical Bantu affair (nandju), showing the many blessings of the lobola custom. The matter[1] will have to be decided by the chief, or rather by the Portuguese Administrator, who must take a good deal of trouble, if he wishes to understand it rightly and to deliver an equitable judgment!

APPENDIX IX (See p. 530).

The story of Mboza and Muhambi and of the women inherited by them, illustrating the consequences of lobola and of its suppression.

177 Compare the genealogy of the Masuluke family (page 225).

595 583 Mboza had four brothers, three elder and a younger; Sam, the elder, had a son, Hlangabeza, who married by lobola a first wife and by abduction a second, Bukutje II. Fos, the second brother, married Bukutje I and had four children: three girls, Tshakaza, Estelle, Nhwaanin, and one boy, Muhambi. Sam and Fos both died, so Bukutje I was inherited by Mboza and her four children went to live in his village. In the meantime Mboza became a Christian, as also did Muhambi and the three girls. Wishing to lead a Christian life, he separated from Bukutje I, who, being still a heathen, committed herself with "an empty oil-tin" (p. 213), viz., a man of Inhambane who became her servant-husband. In 1904 a Christian young man, Moses, wooed the elder of the three girls and brought £ 20 to lobola her. This money was naturally due to Muhambi in order to allow him to lobola a wife for himself, and indeed Muhambi was betrothed to Ntshelebeti, daughter of Phulan Ngwetsa. This man was still a heathen and consequently wished his daughter to be paid for.

Having been told that it is not right for a Christian to accept lobolo money, Mboza and Muhambi, actuated by a most praiseworthy scruple, decided to return the money to Moses, and Muhambi started for Johannesburg in order to earn the lobolo due to Phulan. But this was not the end of this famous "bukosi!" The younger brother, Komatan, a consistent heathen, came to Mboza, very angry with him for his

1 [See pp. 506-509 -- Analyst]

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177 595 583 foolishness. "This is family property," said he, "and I do not consent to its being lost." So he claimed the £ 20, which was given to him, and out of which Mboza did not get a penny. Komatan himself did not intend to use it for his own benefit, as we shall see presently.

The following year, whilst Muhambi was still working in Johannesburg, Hlangabeza died. Muhambi was his heir, being his *makwabu*, first cousin on the paternal side. He was informed of his good luck, but answered that it was taboo for him (yila), as a Christian, to accept this inheritance. So Komatan took the first of Hlangabeza's wives, not as a wife, however, but because she had children and he wanted them to remain in the Masuluke family. The woman herself also took "an empty oil-tin," in the form of another Inhambane man. The second of Hlangabeza's wives, having been married by him by abduction, was not really the property of the Masulukes. But she had one child; so Komatan took the lobolo money of Moses and remitted it to Denisa, this woman's father, and, in this way, he secured the property of both mother and child to the Masulukes. The woman, however, went to live with a Chopi in an irregular manner and had a second child by him. On January 29th, 1909, this woman of the Denisa family came to Muhambi. Her child had to be weaned, which is done by means of a rite in which the husband must take part. She had no true husband, so she vented all her anger before Mboza and Muhambi saying: "I have no husband, nobody to give me clothing, to pay my hut-tax, to repair my house. Have you indeed forsaken me?" — "Yes" answered Muhambi, "you cannot be my wife. I have married Ntshelebeti and, for us Christians, it is not allowable to take many wives." — "Then do not be surprised if I go and take another husband, and do not go and accuse me *shikanekiswen*, before the Portuguese Administrator, saying I have spoilt your property." — "We shall not *follow* you," said Muhambi, "you are free." — "But" added Mboza, "we are not sending you to commit sin! Go and think the matter over."

This was the end of the discussion. Mboza's answer is no answer at all. It only shows the great complexity and difficulty of the position. The whole story fitly illustrates how utterly bad the custom of lobola is, and what immense difficulties its suppression entails. Let me, however, remark that these difficulties would not have arisen had there not been a heathen relative (Komatan) to uphold the claim which the Christians had foregone. During the stage of transition many hard cases such as this must unfortunately occur!

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PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS

I. ON THE RITES OF INFANCY (P. 36-61).

853 The rule that a mother "must plough for her child three hoes" is
545 excellent. It is undoubtedly a splendid preparation for future life to
177 have been fed during three years on mother's milk. Will it be possible to maintain this law under the new conditions of civilized life which are being adopted more and more throughout the tribes? Let us notice that this provision, though it was inspired partly in the interest of the child itself, is dictated mainly by a superstition concerning the lochia secretion, which is regarded as highly noxious and as keeping the mother in an unclean state for a long time. This superstition will not withstand the test of science and will pass away. On the other hand, polygamy was invented and flourishes partly on account of this law. A husband separated from the wife who is nursing a child wishes to have other women at his disposal. Polygamy is doomed to pass also. For both these reasons, it is to be feared that this healthy custom will not be maintained in the future. This is a pity, and we ought to do our best to encourage its continuance.

843 Many young married Natives leave their homes and go to Johannes-
177 burg to the mines for one or two years as soon as they see that their wife is pregnant. This is certainly on account of the above rule; but this desertion of the conjugal home is hardly to be approved.

164 As regards the whole medical treatment characteristic of this period,
751 which is considered more or less as a disease, it has no value at all.
177 The big intestinal worm is, of course, merely a product of Native imagination. The children sometimes suffer from lombrics, but not more than white children. Convulsions are frequent as a result of malaria and dysentery, and neither the ever present *milombyana* nor the

164 751 177 bi-monthly *biyeketa* nor the powder of the reed can do anything to prevent them. The habit of always carrying water in the calabash and of never emptying it entirely is harmful. Dr Garin, our medical missionary, examined some of these milombyana calabashes with the microscope and found them full of bacteria of all kinds. It is a splendid *milieu de culture* for them. This milombyana custom is however hard to eradicate as the principle is deeply rooted in the Thonga mind : "The child grows by means of medicine" and even Christian converts respect it. They will relinquish it when a clearer notion of medical science has entered their heads — a time which is still remote, I fear!

000 From the missionary point of view, let us notice the analogy between the rite of the broken pot and Christian baptism as administered to children by most of the Churches. Natives readily accept a ceremony of benediction for the little ones, be it baptism proper or presentation with laying on of hands. But the heathen baptism is a baptism of smoke, and not of water — and is in relation to merely external dangers, while the Christian rite represents the purification of the soul from its sin and the new and pure life. Whatever may be the difference between the two customs, we find in the animistic rite a point of analogy which may help us to explain the spiritual sacrament and its deep significance.

II. ON CIRCUMCISION (See p. 94).

177 797 What judgment are we to pass on this custom to which some tribes still cling with great pertinacity ? The teaching of endurance and of hunting has certainly some value, but these rites as a whole have very little worth and are useless in the new economy of South Africa. The obcene language allowed during the Ngoma certainly tends to pervert the mind of the boys and constitutes an immoral preparation for sexual life.

Have we nothing to learn from the Ngoma ? More than two hundred thousand children of black South Africa are now attending our schools... more or less regularly. Hundreds of young men are boarding in our Normal Institutions. Do we always succeed in this great educational work ? Its results are not entirely satisfactory, because most of the children do not stay long enough in the school to be properly taught. As soon as they have acquired some knowledge of reading and writing, they leave and go to the towns to earn money.

177 Whatever the teacher may say, they escape... I must confess that we do not control them as well as the Father of the Circumcision... The Ngoma shows us however that strict discipline is quite possible with Native boys and that we must deal with them without any touch of harshness, of course, but with a firm hand. When the inmates of our institutions complain that the sauce of their porridge is not savoury enough, we might remind them of the food their heathen comrades are eating in the Ngoma!

881 There is a striking resemblance between Bantu circumcision, Jewish circumcision and Christian baptism.

In Jewish circumcision, the same physical operation was performed, but it was performed on infants. It had undoubtedly also the meaning of a purification, a removal of pollution and an introduction into the holy nation. In the course of time, the idea was spiritualised and circumcision meant the removal of sin. But it had a strongly religious character: Jahvé marked his chosen people by their circumcision. This religious element is wanting in the Ngoma of the Thongas and the Suthos, where the national significance alone remains.

As regards baptism, the great difference between the heathen and the Christian rite is evidently this. Christian baptism is not only a religious but also a moral rite. In its normal form, which is the immersion of adult catechumens, it represents in a striking manner the washing away of sin and the admission to the Church of Christ; it is a rite of passage; separation from the old life of sin, marginal period of instruction, admission into a holy community...

The Ngoma has no such spiritual and moral idea attached to it, but it has been inspired by the same deep and true sense of the necessity in the evolution of man, of a progress consisting in the renunciation of a miserable past and the introduction into a higher life. This idea is one of those rays of light which we are happy to discover amidst the darkness of heathendom, one of those "points d'attache" to which we can link the truths of spiritual religion.

177 797 881 What ought to be the attitude of the Government and of Missions towards this custom? As regards Governments, they could not immediately suppress the circumcision schools, though they have often been asked to do so, but it would seem that they might use their influence in checking them. As for the Mission, it has naturally fought against this school of heathenism, but not always with success; boys, even Christian boys, are wonderfully attracted by it and many have left their

177 spelling-books for the formulæ of Manhengwane. Strange to say, it
797 frequently happens that girls refuse to marry men who have not passed
through this initiation! These facts, together with the legitimate wish
881 to give African Christianity a true national character, have suggested to some missionaries the idea of establishing *Christian Circumcision Schools*. In a special meeting at the Conference of Le Zoute, September 1926, Canon Lucas of the Universities Mission told his colleagues the results of an experiment of this kind at his station of Masasi. The missionary himself took control of all proceedings. The boys began by entering the church, the elders representing the old men of the tribe. They were circumcised in the camp which had been previously blessed and the operation was performed by a qualified Native who had been trained by medical men. The parents of the boys were waiting outside the camp, dancing. When all the boys had been circumcised, they were told by the manager of the camp that this was done to incorporate them into the tribe, and the parents again engaged in a big dance. The men remained on the spot and proceeded to the erection of the buildings of the camp where the circumcised were kept for some weeks, and carefully treated till all of them were healed. During this period of seclusion, they received instead of the obscene formulæ, teaching bearing on seven subjects : truth, honour, purity, abstinence from drink, humility, love of one's neighbour and duties toward God. They had also to pass through various physical trials, and, at the end, they were exhorted to do penance for their past sins. Their hair was cut, and burnt together with their clothing and all the camp buildings. The parents were then summoned and danced the whole night, the men mysteriously bringing new clothing for the initiated. The boys then went to church, and, answering a question put by the missionary, they said : "I ask of God that I may be a righteous man." A special blessing was then given to them. An interesting fact is that the heathen population approved of this Christian Circumcision School and accepted it as an equivalent to the old. Some heathen parents even sent their sons to it! Seven hundred boys have already been received in it and Canon Lucas has gained an enormous influence over them! I only
000 mention this attempt to "sublimate" the circumcision rites. Some missionaries are strongly opposed to this new departure, which they regard as a dangerous mixture of Christian ideas and heathen rites. Without expressing a definite opinion on the subject, I would insist on the point just mentioned : the real, genuine rite of passage of Christianity is baptism, and the African Church might perhaps be satisfied with

000 it, as the Churches of all the Continents are. Is not the Church abandoning its true domain in taking circumcision under its patronage ? The operation is no doubt hygienic in most cases. Surgeons sometimes deem it necessary to prevent complications. It seems therefore more natural to leave circumcision to the province of medicine rather than to impose it as a collective rite on all Christian boys. I think that a deeper study of the question is necessary.

III. ON MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND LOBOLA

(See p. 125 and 282).

177 What will be the fate of all these very picturesque marriage customs
586 with the advent of civilisation ? Let us notice that amongst Christian converts, many of them have been abandoned as a matter of course, the bad habits of tjekela, the assault on the village, the preparation of beer, for instance. The part played by adult go-betweens is sometimes taken over by the elders of the Church, but often young people do not care for interference and conduct their own business.

Some other rites are preserved ; the feast, of course, is amongst these, and we see boys ruining themselves in order to prepare a glorious wedding with splendid costumes and abundance of meat. On this point they are rather too conservative!

The religious ceremony has now become the Christian blessing which has taken the place of the heathen sacrifice to the ancestors ; it is followed generally by a procession of the best men and the bridesmaids singing popular hymns, sometimes very solemnly worded, songs of repentance for instance, as they march to and fro in the nuptial village ; the women, even the men, of the two families hurling at each other's heads amenities of the same kind as in former times. This is a most peculiar mixture of the old and new elements and often filled us with wonder (See Zidji, p. 212). I think however that these rites are doomed to die out, because Christian marriage is no longer a collective act, but has been individualised together with the many other acts of social life. It remains a social act indeed, but an act accomplished by two individuals on their own responsibility and in mutual love. "Ceci tuera cela." This Christian or Western individualism will kill primitive
000 collectivism and all its rites. However original and interesting the marriage ceremonies may be amongst the Bantus, I do not think they

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000 The obligation however is not the same for both. A *civil Government*, undertaking to rule a tribe brought into subjection by war or placed under the Protectorate of a European power, dealing with Natives who still retain their primitive way of living, cannot pretend to govern them immediately according to the laws of civilised nations. This would be an impossibility. Such a Colonial Government must respect Native laws and judge cases in accordance with them, otherwise it would not appear to the Natives as just ; and it is indispensable that, in their dealings with uncivilised people, White Authorities should always satisfy this sense of justice, which is so strong amongst Natives. However, I do not think that this consideration ought to be pushed too far.

Native Commissioners are quite right when they aim at a progressive change in the laws and customs of primitive collectivist people in the direction of more individual liberty, so that the principles of Native society may be amended, and founded on the same basis as ours, in course of time. The State has no power to produce this evolution, but is must be favourable to it, and consider with sympathy every effort that is made to elevate and purify the social and family system of the tribe. It has many means at its disposal to collaborate in this work, as we shall very soon see.

177 583 The *Christian Missions* can alone bring about this transformation, acting, as they do, on the hearts of the Natives, producing individual conviction in the conscience, opening a new horizon to the mind, creating amongst them a new society. For them the duty of fighting lobola is absolute, and I cannot understand how some missionaries think it may be tolerated in a Christian Church. The following reasons ought to be taken into consideration by them, in addition to those already mentioned :

1. The lobola, being a material method of concluding a marriage, tends to degrade the moral foundation of a true Christian union, mutual love in particular. We know by experience that individual *love* of a young man for a young girl, love as we conceive it, which was scarcely to be met with in the original collective Bantu society, is beginning to appear amongst the best of our converts. This will become the true and powerful bond which will more effectually strengthen conjugal union amongst them.

2. Lobola is intimately connected with polygamy, as the woman bought belongs to the husband's family and must be inherited by his younger brothers. If this man is already married, he is bound to become a polygamist. So is the only brother of many girls, who is

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177 583 doomed by the custom to lobola for himself as many wives as the sisters he possesses.

So all Missions working amongst the Natives practising the lobola, ought to agree upon a determined campaign against it, with those moral weapons which spiritual bodies ought alone to use. And I would recommend *the following rules* to be universally adopted :

1. *Lobota* (p. 101) should be prohibited, viz., no Christian father should be allowed to ask for a lobolo when giving his daughter in marriage. He is converted ; he calls himself a Christian ; he cannot be permitted a practice which is the negation of the moral character of the human being.

2. In the case of *widows*, let it be well understood that, in Christian communities, they are free as soon as their husband is dead ; that they keep their children and that, when they go home with them, no money can be claimed by the heirs, whether the woman has been paid for or not.

3. As regards *children*, the *moral right* of possession of both father and mother in regard to them should be maintained to the exclusion of a special right arising from the lobola.

4. In the case of *a boy marrying the daughter of a heathen*, we cannot prevent him from paying a lobolo. The father is the master and, as we have no moral jurisdiction over him, we cannot oppose his claim. But, let it be well understood, that this payment will not give the new husband, who is a Christian, all the rights which accompany the lobolo under Native law. It would be wise to ask for a written stipulation from the husband in this case, as well as from the Christian father who gives his girl without lobolo. Let us be on our guard here! The lobolo being family property, if the father or the elder brothers, being Christians, do not claim it, another heathen relative will always appear on the scene and say : "If you do not want it, I claim it! The girl is *ours*!" I shall discuss this case later on.

5. When Christian girls, dependant upon a heathen father, wish to free themselves from the lobola, which appears to some of them as a degrading sale, they ought to be encouraged to save money in order to redeem themselves. We have seen many cases in which this proof of energy given by girls has been a blessing for them and for the Church. The same applies to a young widow who wishes to lead a pure life and to avoid becoming the wife of a polygamist heir.

000 If all missionaries agreed on these points, the practice of lobola would soon disappear. But *the aid of the State*, which I think is desirable and quite legitimate, if it keeps within the limits of its proper

000 will lodge their claim for the sum which the man had generously foregone. For this reason we should recommend that a statement be drawn up in each case of renunciation of lobola: This paper could always be shown to anybody trying to interfere with a lawful marriage celebrated without lobola. In the same way the heathen heirs of a Christian husband who had paid a lobolo to his father-in-law, would be unable to lay claim to the widow.

Amongst Christian Natives a middle course has sometimes been adopted. The bridegroom gives the father of the bride a present which is called *tjakisa*, i. e. to make joyful. It consists generally of a certain number of pounds sterling, inferior to the number required by the customary bride-price. By this means the suitor "soothes the heart" of his father-in-law, who would find it too hard to give his daughter for nothing. What are we to think of this expedient? Nobody can prevent one man from making a present to another. As long as it is clearly understood that this tjakisa is not a lobolo, and that it does not carry with it the evil consequences of the heathen lobolo, it may be accepted as a kind of transitory measure. But there are dangers in the adoption of this custom. As the idea of lobolo is always more or less present in the mind of all, you will find the father-in-law coming from time to time to ask for some more pounds, a fact which shows that his heart has not been sufficiently soothed .. and bad feeling is sure to arise and disturb the relationship, so much so that the worried husband will say: "I had better have paid a full lobolo at once!" I do not think we can absolutely prohibit the tjakisa, but I consider it as a "pis-aller" and greatly prefer to see the father of a Christian girl courageously renounce his claim to any special present. Such cases are happily frequent in the Native Congregations.

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177/583 The eradication of the lobola will take long, but it must take place if Native society is to pass beyond the level of collective social life, and to be raised to the status of a civilised community. There will be a transition period during which both Natives and their civilisers will have to show much patience, tact and ability; many hard cases will arise. The story of Fos and Mboza, which I narrate in Appendix IX, illustrates these difficulties. But, whatever they may be, the reform is worth every effort and I will borrow my conclusion from a Native whom I once heard speak with splendid clearness and conviction on the

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583 subject. This man, an evangelist called Zebedea, brought an old Native to me, named Tumben, a Christian who was still very much attached to heathen customs. They discussed before me this question : Must Tumben claim a lobolo owed to him, in order to pay a lobolo which he owes to somebody else ? The old man thought he was entitled to make his claim. Zebedea asserted that he was not, and the evangelist was right. Christian spirituality required of Tumben that he should renounce the lobolo because he was a convert ; on the other hand he could not decline to pay his lobola debt to his creditor who was a heathen, and could not consequently accept the Christian point of view. The case was hard for the old man and the fight between his conscience and his interest was sad to witness. Zebedea found convincing arguments : "These lobola debts," he said, "are ropes which start from the neck of one and go to the neck of the other. Though your father dies, this rope still ties you, you are kept tied to your father's bones by this accursed rope! Others will get drawn into its coils and the strands become entangled round you! Cut it and be free!"

IV. ON POLYGAMY (See p. 289).

000 Practically, what must be the attitude of the Government and of Missions towards this custom ?

1. As regards civilised Governments, having still to reckon with Native law, they cannot at once prohibit all forms of polygamy.

But when they have established marriage registration, it would seem that they ought not to allow unions posterior to the first to be considered as legitimate. These marriages ought not to be registered, and if this distinction were strictly enforced, by and by Natives would become more aware of the illegitimate character of polygamic marriages. In the Transvaal, the Native Affairs Department at one time tried to fight directly against the custom in the following manner. As every man has to pay taxes according to the number of his wives, the tax for the first wife was fixed at £ 2, and he had to pay double that sum for each extra wife. But the provision was abandoned later on. Taxation however, has everywhere the effect of limiting polygamy. In Portuguese territory, Natives are taxed according to the number of huts they possess. As each wife lives in a separate house, polygamists are more heavily taxed than others.

Enactments such as these are, I suppose, all that a Government can

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000 seemed to be struck by the argument and accepted it readily, but the idea did not occur to them of itself.

This difficulty in grasping the immoral character of polygamy explains why such a great number of Christian Natives, even after having been monogamists for a time, so easily fall back into polygamy. I heard that in the Cameroons, when, owing to the war, the German missionaries had to leave the country, polygamy invaded the Native congregations wholesale, Native ministers themselves returning to it, and the French missionaries who came to the rescue of these Churches had a terrible battle to fight in order to restore monogamy. All this shows that a long education will be necessary before the Bantu mind is sufficiently transformed to be able to understand perfectly and then to accept freely and willingly the standards of Christian morality in this domain.

V. ON THE FATE OF THE THONGA VILLAGE (See p. 355).

177 361 363 What will be the fate of the little Bantu community, of the circular kraal of huts, well shut in behind its fence, under the shade of its symbolical tree, well "tied" under the absolute authority of the headman ? If we look at the new Native settlements, at the modern Native villages, built under the influence of civilisation and Christianity, we shall be struck at once by the fact that they are arranged in regular streets (1). This change is momentous and highly significative. The new Thonga village is no longer a well defined family. It has become an agglomeration of families belonging to different clans, attracted to a particular spot by the European town or by the Church and the school. The straight line, with its capacity of infinite prolongation, has taken the place of the circular, with its necessarily restricted length. Considering that new ideas are now invading the Bantu tribe from all sides, it is certain that the old circle will disappear more and more and that regular streets will be more generally adopted.

From the point of view of the picturesque, this is a great pity. For the ethnographer, the circle of huts, that curious Bantu commune with its striking laws, was ten times more interesting than the commonplace street

(1) In many Bantu tribes, those of Central Africa, even in the Ba-Chopi tribe, on the South-Eastern boundary of the Thonga country, the Natives already have straight streets. Is this plan original or not ? I suppose nobody can say. In the Thonga, Zulu and Sutho kraals, at any rate, the circular arrangement is a characteristic feature.

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of square houses or galvanised iron sheds, which are a poor imitation of European dwellings. However, from the practical point of view, this change is unavoidable. It even undoubtedly stands for progress.

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The *Native hut* is prettily shaped. I prefer the Thonga form, a circular wall on which a conical roof is placed, to the Zulu, a beehive resting on the ground, or even to the Kaffir, which combines the features of both, having also a circular wall but with a cupola roof. The conical

Phot. H. A. Junod.

Christian village of Shiluvane.

roof is a better protection against rain. But all these forms of dwelling have one great fault : they are not healthy. The rays of the sun cannot penetrate into the hut, and, though the top of the reeds is sometimes not plastered and allows a certain amount of ventilation, the air cannot circulate, because the hut has no window. Smoke must make its way through the thatch and it is very difficult indeed to obtain any current of air inside. If a new type of hut were to be adopted, with high walls, good-sized doors and windows, and a roof slightly overhanging the wall, these defects would be remedied. But civilised Natives have not tried to follow this plan. They have at once copied the European system, just

177/291 as with their clothing! How often we have longed to see them adopt some peculiar costume appropriate to the climate and to their occupations! But when they cast off their belt of tails, it is to put on long trousers, and they all dream of a complete khakhi or serge suit! So they will build square houses, and this certainly has its advantages; the dwelling can be divided into many rooms and the different members of the family can all live under the same roof, which, from an educational point of view, is a good thing.

264/177/591/361 The *communism of food* is also a splendid feature and calculated to fill the most sanguine socialistic dreamer with joy! But this custom has been severely criticised from a hygienic point of view. The habit of all plunging their fingers into the same plate fosters tuberculosis and other contagious diseases; but I do not think it is for this reason that the custom will die out. In the modern Native settlement many different families live together. They are not united by any ties of blood. Moreover they are sometimes so numerous that such communism would be practically impossible. The golden age has passed for ever!

177/461 With it has also passed away the merry lazy life of the half naked *munumzane*. The coming of civilisation has already deeply changed his mode of living, and the transformation will accentuate itself still further. I have heard Colonists cursing these black people, who believe that they can escape the law of work under which Europeans groan: "these niggers who think that they will be allowed to remain incorrigibly lazy fellows for all time!" I do not share this loudly expressed indignation. First the Native *doda* is by no means an idle man. He has his own occupations for the benefit of the kraal. Secondly, if his wants are few, and if he very soon reaches the happy state of a man who is not obliged to work, I see thousands of Europeans enjoying the life of a "rentier" as much as he does, and without any qualms of conscience. A South African trader who works hard to make his fortune, and hopes to leave the country as quickly as possible, in order to enjoy all the comforts of a European town, theatres, concerts and clubs, has not, after all, a much loftier ideal than the Native he curses... On the other hand, circumstances themselves enforce upon the Native that law of work and teach him that "dignity of labour" of which we so often hear. A civilised Native has increased his wants ten-fold. He requires the wherewithal to satisfy them. This is the only legitimate, the most powerful incentive to work. Fifty, sixty thousand Thongas, the elite of our tribe, are constantly streaming to Johannesburg, where they are considered the best mining boys. Many of them go there to earn

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177 lobola money. But they learn to spend money on other things, and
461 those who are converts to Christianity become regular purchasers of
651 clothing, of better food, of books. The high taxation to which they are subjected also forces them to work. As long as this does not exceed a reasonable limit, and as long as the State causes the Native community to benefit by the high taxes levied on it, it is justifiable although this way of enforcing labour is not so normally healthy as the creation of
241 new wants (1). Another powerful influence which tends to make men
177 work more and to relieve women from the toil of tilling the fields, is
412 this. Wishing to make money by selling grain, the Natives are begin-
462 ning to clear larger fields than before, and we note with pleasure that they have adopted the use of the plough instead of the hoe in a great many quarters. The consequence of this change is that the men now do

466 (1) Another means has been used to obtain the same result, i. e. compulsory labour
P. (in Thonga *shibalu*). It is not at all my intention to treat this important but delicate
177. subject here. The League of Nations created in 1924 a special Slavery Commission
46 which has very ably and fully discussed the whole subject. These discussions have resulted in a Convention which was adopted by the Assembly of 1926; art. 5, which deals with forced labour, runs as follows:

The High Contracting Parties recognise that recourse to compulsory or forced labour may have grave consequences and undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage, to take all necessary measures to prevent compulsory or forced labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery.

It is agreed that:

(1) Subject to the transitional provisions laid down in paragraph (2) below, compulsory or forced labour may only be exacted for public purposes.

(2) In territories in which compulsory or forced labour for other than public purposes still survives, the High Contracting Parties shall endeavour progressively and as soon as possible to put an end to the practice. So long as such forced or compulsory labour exists, this labour shall invariably be of an exceptional character, shall always receive adequate remuneration, and shall not involve the removal of the labourers from their usual place of residence.

(3) In all cases, the responsibility for any recourse to compulsory or forced labour shall rest with the competent central authorities of the territory concerned.

The League of Nations has thus established the general principles, and nearly thirty States have already signed the Convention; amongst these we note with pleasure Great Britain and Portugal. Now the question has been transferred to the International Labour Office, which must deal with the application of the Convention. A special Committee of experts has been elected and it is hoped that it will fix general principles for Coloured Labour, which shall be submitted to the General Labour Conference in a not distant future.

I am glad to add that the Portuguese Government has recently issued a decree (N° 12.533) which has been published in the *Bolletim official de Moçambique*, November 1926, and which contains the following article (Art. 5, § unico): *Compulsory labour is only permitted when absolutely indispensable, for works of public interest and of undeniable urgency. This labour will be remunerated according to circumstances.*

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the work of preparing the fields. As women have nothing to do with the cattle and as ploughing is done with oxen, men now perform this difficult labour, and so have to work hard. Is not this one splendid result of the spread of civilisation ? The fact cannot be denied that, as regards the mode of living and the distribution of work amongst men and women, a considerable change has already taken place and is being accentuated every day in the Thonga village. What will be the ultimate result of this ?

When discussing the Native problem, the most difficult of all South African problems, politicians, missionaries, civilised Natives and newspapers generally ask this question : "Is Native tribal life to be preserved or, on the contrary, destroyed ?" No clear, satisfactory, convincing reply has as yet been given. Tribal life is composed of two elements : communal life and national life, which ought to be considered separately. I deal here with the first of these elements only. The first remark I would venture to make is that it is somewhat presumptuous on our part to believe that we can exert any very great influence on the solution of this question. Whatever one may hope or fear, the evolution of the Bantu village, which began as soon as civilisation entered the land, will go on. It is not in the power of the Pope, of the Minister of Native Affairs, or of Superintendents of any large Missionary Societies, to prevent the transformation of the primitive patriarchal tribes, which is proceeding as a matter of necessity. Human society evolves continually, and the economic and social changes which have taken place in South Africa are so momentous that they will deeply affect and eventually completely transform the Bantu community. But (this is my second remark) what we can strive for is to control and guide this necessary evolution, and I should like to propose, to all those who can collaborate in the shaping of the future Bantu society, the two following suggestions :

000 1. Though the square house may supplant the round hut, though the hubo, the bandla and the absolute authority of the numzane may disappear, let us do our best to prevent the future Native village from being a servile imitation of our own European settlements. The more original the Natives remain, the more interesting and worthy to live they will be. The "place of jealousy" will disappear together with polygamy. But let us retain all that is pleasing and moral in the picturesque circle of huts : the respect for elders, the sense of family unity, the habit of mutual help, the readiness to share food with others. Cannot these virtues be retained in the Christian village, under the

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000 direction of the missionary, or in the town location with its Council of civilised Natives ? On the other hand, in the closed circle, there was no place for strangers. Love and interest were restricted to members of the family. In the new settlement we can hope to create a sense of wider humanity, more in harmony with the traditions of modern life.

2. The evolution of Native society will certainly be accompanied by much suffering and will not attain a satisfactory result, unless much patience is displayed by both Whites and Blacks. Let the conservative Natives and the dreamers of the past admit the necessity for these changes. Let white men, who too often think that the black population has been created in the sole interests of the European, allow the transformation to come gradually and not unduly hasten it, in their eagerness to make the Natives an asset to the country. I am convinced that moral and religious teaching is of the utmost importance in order to spread this spirit of wisdom, patience and good understanding amongst the South African tribes. I hope that in the future Bantu village the demoralising public house will never be allowed to develop the inordinate taste of the Natives for alcohol. But, in the meantime, it is to be hoped that everywhere, amongst the buildings, square and round, will be found the larger and more honoured edifices, the Church and the School, in which worship takes place and teaching is provided. The very existence of these races depends on these conditions.

VI. CONCLUSIONS ON THE THIRD PART.

The new era, and the future of the South African tribe.

177/642 The great philosopher Aristotle gave the following definition of man : "Man is a political animal"—*ξῶον πολιτικον*, by which words he rightly observed that man is not made to live alone, but in society. This definition is applicable to the Bantu as well as to any other human race ; the family is the first of these social aggregates ; the clan is the second. The Bantus are essentially a political race and no one could deny that they have invented a very interesting and practical political system, a system which wonderfully combines two opposite principles : the autocracy of the chief and the democratic spirit of the subject. The Bantu citizens are truly citizens. They can sit on the hubo and give their advice on all questions at stake, be they of a legislative, a political, or a judicial character. This age-old participation in the discussion of

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177/642 the affairs of the country has given them a sense of their importance, a gravity of speech and a dignity of manners which greatly impress a European visiting a typical Bantu village.

But this state of affairs is being modified very rapidly by the all-powerful civilisation which is invading South Africa from all sides like an irresistible tide. My description of the national life of the tribe, or clan, still applies to some parts of Thongaland ; but changes are coming so fast that soon it will have nothing more than an historic value. In some other parts of South Africa the old clan life has already totally disappeared.

If we have tried to foresee the future of the Bantu village, how much more serious is the question of the fate of the Bantu tribe ? I do not think I can pass it by without consideration, whatever may be the difficulties and the delicacy of what has been called the "Native problem."

In trying to find in what direction the present evolution of the South African tribes is tending, we must first consider what has been the influence of European civilisation on Native political life up to the present time. We are here dealing with past and well ascertained facts.

The result of the encounter of Civilisation and Bantu tribal life up to the present day.

177 *a)* Civilisation *has destroyed the military power* of the South African Bantus. Thirty years ago they could still fight against white people with some hope of success. Now their fighting power has been broken. They will always be able to kill a few white women, a few colonists settled amongst them, far away from the centres ; they might obtain some occasional victories against a badly conducted reconnoitring party : they cannot withstand a European Commando provided with Maxim quick-firing rifles and all the implements of modern warfare, even if they are ten times superior in numbers. The last Zulu rebellion gave a striking demonstration of this fact. The Zulu impi, with wonderful courage, rushed on the Whites with its assagais and its war songs. But six hundred of the Natives were shot dead by the mitrailleuses before they could approach near enough to throw an assagay! As long as the black race cannot fight with the white man on an equal footing as regards weapons, it cannot hope to regain its military power, whatever may be its valour or its patriotism.

b) Having conquered the territory of South Africa, the White

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177 Governments have everywhere placed Native Commissioners to watch over their coloured subjects. This has put *an end to the tribal wars*. Natives are no longer allowed to indulge in their old fighting customs. They may avail themselves of a war between Europeans to square up old accounts with each other, as happened during the Anglo-Boer war, but they are forbidden to follow the war-path any longer. In many parts of South Africa they have even been disarmed. This change, as a whole, is a favourable one. Native wars never brought blessing to the race. It tends however to destroy one of the springs of patriotism, and in this way it impoverishes the Native mind.

643 175 631 P. 177. 64 *c)* These Native Commissioners have placed a very effective check, not only upon the military tendencies of the tribe, but upon *the power of its chiefs*. The authority of the chief in the clan has certainly been diminished. In some instances he has been deposed, or banished in consequence of war, and the tribe has remained without a head and without force, as it were emasculated, and unable to guide itself. As Mankhelu said: "Our chief is the forest into which we retreat! Without him we are but women!" This was sadly noticeable in the case of the Zihlahla or Mpfumo clan, which was perhaps the most developed of all the Ronga kingdoms and which suffered most from the 1894-96 war. Its young chief Ñwamantibyane was caught and deported to some spot in Eastern Africa, and the clan was dismembered, a great number of men emigrating to the Transvaal; the others remained dissatisfied but powerless in their old territory, and were incorporated with Matjolo or Mabota.

643 681 692 P. 177. 69 Even when the Native chief is maintained in his position by the Whites, his power is curtailed. As a judge, he is no longer allowed to inflict capital punishment. His tribunal only judges minor cases, and beside and beyond him, there is a further appeal, the Court of the White Commissioner, which is ready to consider every important case. Should the Native chief be unjust or selfish in his decisions, the subjects will go more and more to the White tribunal. It may be that their claims will not be so well understood as in their own *hubo*, but they will perhaps meet with fairer treatment. Shrewd and clever Native Commissioners thus succeed in attracting more applicants to their residences than the chief to his capital (1). This dual control leads to a progressive loosening of the tribal tie.

(1) This was the case for instance in Nondwane. The unjust and egoistical rule of Mabwaba compelled many of his subjects to go "shikaneskiweni," viz., to the Portuguese Administrator of Moralven.

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797/177 *d) Mission work*, now so wide-spread all over the country, leads to the same result. It infuses a new moral and religious ideal into the minds of the people. The old customs, the sacred superstitions, many articles of the Native code, are rejected by the converts. They remain generally very submissive to the authority of their chief, pay their taxes, join the army, but, should the Authorities summon a "nyiwa," a gathering of the clan to smell out the witches, should statute labour be ordered for a Sunday, etc., their conscience does not allow them to obey. On the other hand Native converts, under their white missionary, generally form a Church, which sometimes becomes a kind of *imperium in imperio*, subject to its own laws. This is the necessary consequence of bad, or immoral, heathen customs (beer-drinking, lobola, polygamy) which the Christian ideal cannot tolerate. A deep gulf is thus created between Christians and heathens, and this also weakens the tribal life.

The causes which have brought about this change will probably increase in power in the course of time. The process of individualisation will go on; so consequently will this process of destruction of the tribal tie, and we may confidently look forward to a moment when the clan will have lost its political cohesion and its members have become independent of any Native Authority.

000 *e) Loss of the political sense.* How are we to regard this possibility? It may present certain advantages over the old state of things, but, to my mind, it entails a distinct and most regrettable loss for the Natives. The political sense, with the sense of responsibility, will have disappeared, and this sense is one of the most precious aids towards the building of character. Look at a gathering of old-fashioned indunas discussing a question affecting the welfare of the tribe under the guidance of their chief; compare it with an assembly of half civilised Natives in a Town location, a low class tea-meeting, for instance, of men with no respect for any one, addicted to drink and immorality, having rejected the authority of White missionaries because they believe themselves to be so much better informed! There was in the first gathering a dignity, a sense of duty, which you will hardly find in the second...

It is no use for us white men to curse the degenerate Native or to weep over the disappearance of the old restraints. Let us rather confess that we are in a great measure responsible for these results. We have interfered with the Bantu clan by taking away its independence; we have deprived it of one of its character building features, political

consist of natural objects such as rivers, big trees, etc. To define the boundaries of their gardens, Natives dig an ordinary ditch (ndjilekana, mu-mi) round the field, of about one foot in depth, which can be plainly traced even after the lapse of several years, when the field may have become fallow land and overgrown with vegetation. 423 618

The question of *roads* is a somewhat difficult, and often thorny one to settle. Where has one the right to go ? And if, after having used a certain path for years, you suddenly find it blocked by some individual whose field it skirts, and who has taken a fancy to hoe it up, what is to be done ? To try to come to some friendly agreement is always the most practical course. How often have we not experienced this difficulty with our cart ! The agriculturists were the more annoyed because we required a road three or four yards wide, while the Native footpaths are only little tracks of 15 to 20 inches in width. Being the only "carriage folk" in the district, we often had to ask permission to be allowed to pass, and have rarely met with any kind of refusal, for the Black is a reasonable being and quite appreciates the fact that roads are a necessity. If they see that a road is "ripening" (wupfile), viz., that it is more and more frequently used, they bow before the facts ; here, as everywhere else, custom makes the law. 423 487

At the present moment matters have been made much more simple as the Portuguese Government has constructed wide highways in all the more frequented parts of the country. 177 491

B. PRODUCTS OF THE SOIL.

I. *Cereals.*

"Hosi ya psone i *psithjama*" — "Their king is the *maize*," says Mboza. This cereal is indeed the most widely cultivated in Thongaland. It is called *psifake* in Djonga. In the more fertile regions of the North, the size of the cobs and of the grains (nhleke, yin-tin) is much larger than on the sandy dunes of the Ba-Ronga. So the people of Khosen make fun of the Ba-Ronga and compare 243

241 the South African Natives, are essentially agriculturists, and they succeed in obtaining their food in abundance from the soil, although it is not very rich. The variety of their cereals is indeed remarkable, but they have never developed their cultivation to any great extent, because they did not wish to harvest more than was necessary for their immediate needs : there would have been no market for a surplus. Moreover they have never invented the plough, or thought of the use of irrigation, or of manure, those three great means of intensive production which civilised people have so long possessed. As regards irrigation, the Makaneta people made use of the tide, which drives back the waters of the Nkomati River, to water their rice plantations, but they never dug channels for the purpose.

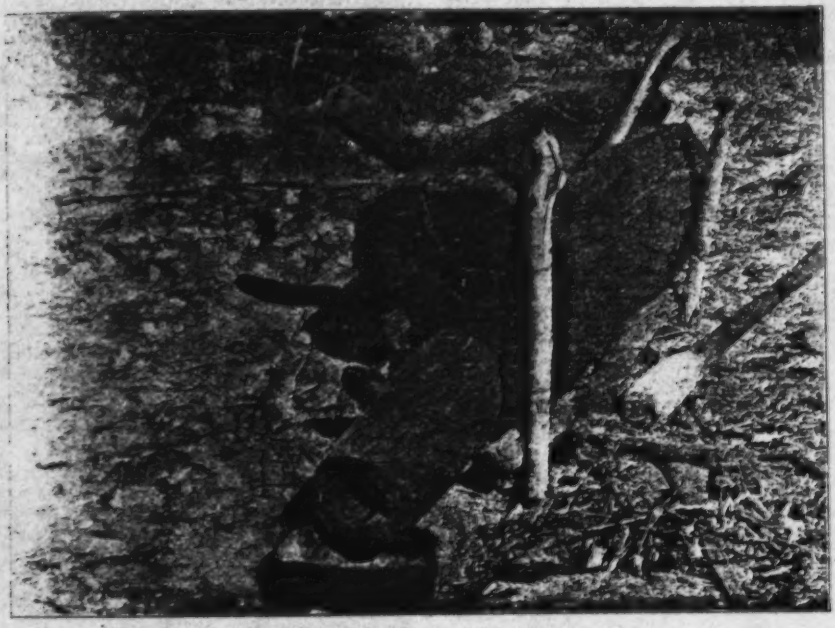
●177 241 Civilisation having brought these means of progress within their reach, they show themselves, however, quite ready to take advantage of them. Ploughs are wide-spread amongst Transvaal Thongas, where missionaries have taught them their use. There is no doubt that, having been initiated into civilised methods of cultivation, South African Natives, who have such a strong natural taste for agriculture, will in future considerably develop the resources of their soil.

But two conditions are necessary for this :

1) European Agencies who have at heart the welfare of the Natives, Colonial Governments, or Missionary Societies, must help them to acquire some technical knowledge, and better seeds and implements.

2) The laws of the country must be amended in such a way that the Natives will be encouraged to buy land. As long as they are only tenants of big Land Companies, or provisional occupants, squatters on Crown land, always threatened with the possibility of their gardens being turned into farms, and sold to White people without any compensation, how can they be expected to devote much time and interest to the betterment of the soil ? Individual land tenure will be the best incentive to agricultural progress.

273 warm them, and someone must keep watch all night, removing the scum and preventing the liquid from rising or overflowing. It then ferments and becomes very alcoholic. Where shiwaya-
[415] waya is drunk, quarrels and blows are sure to follow. The accompanying plate from a photograph, taken near Antioka (Khosen), shows a primitive Native press used for the preparation



Sugar-cane press, Magule (Khosen country). *Phot. A. Clerc.*

of sugar-cane drink. The crushing operation takes place in the large hollowed trunk of a tree and the liquid flows out, through a pipe fixed in its lower extremity, into a pot.

●177 The *shikokiyane* is prepared from Golden Syrup bought from
273 the stores. A large quantity of tins of this harmless "missionary jam," as it is called in South Africa, imported into Johannesburg, are used not by missionaries but by Natives of the Compounds who brew shikokiyane in big empty oil cans. Some of the more civilised do quite a trade in this strong drink, selling it illicitly on Sundays to their unsophisticated brethren, who thus

177 attain to the happy state of drunkenness in which they so much
273 delight, and which is not allowed by the regulations of the Compounds.

A number of other drinks have been invented by the South African Natives, but the foregoing are the principal.

See in the Practical Conclusions, I, at the end of the Volume, my remarks on "Alcoholism and the South African Tribe."

E. LIVE STOCK BREEDING.

I. *Oxen.*

231 Oxen were plentiful in Thongaland before the Zulu invasion ; the Ba-Ngoni warriors stole and killed them wholesale. They have never been so numerous since then, and in 1910 they were fewer than ever, owing to cattle plague and to Texas Fever, which has destroyed the herds in the Transvaal and in the greater part of the Lourenço Marques district. Oxen are not the property of chiefs only. Any *numzane* can possess a kraal, *ranga* dji-ma (Ro.), *shibaya* (Dj.), where he keeps not only his own cattle but those entrusted to his care. Having plenty of boys to herd them, he readily accepts the cows which his neighbours ask him to look after, all the more so as the milk will be his, and he will be given one of the calves, according to custom (I. p. 440). Much care is taken of the welfare of the cattle : the herding-boys are expected to lead them to pasture in the
[821] morning, when the dew is still on the grass ; during the five or six winter months hardly any rain falls, but heavy morning dew replaces it, moistening the grass, and Natives firmly believe that it makes the cattle fat. So it is said that the oxen must go out early and "eat the dew." (Compare the tale of Piti, *Chants et Contes des Ba-Ronga*, p. 156.) Moreover the best kinds of grass, those which are the most nourishing, are well known, and the boys are sent to the places where they grow. Parts

291 waist, whence it falls down to form a skirt. With this most women in the interior are satisfied ; they do not cover the upper part of the body. The undergarment, covering the genitalia, is

Phot. P. Berthoud.
Camilla, a Lourenço Marques woman.

called *ntlhomo* in front, (a word which is taboo), and *mphela* at the back, (this term is less taboo than the first).

177 291 In the Transvaal, Thonga or Shangaan women have also from time immemorial adopted European materials, of which they make double pleated skirts adorned with beads, as seen in the illustration I. p. 195. This is the typical heathen costume. The Pedi or Sutho women are at once distinguishable from their Ronga

sisters by the fact that they have preserved their ancient skin dress. In the neighbourhood of Lourenço Marques, a further development has taken place, as women there wear a large plaid which they knot over the breast and which hangs down behind as far as their heels, a costume by no means lacking in the picturesque. They cover their breast and shoulders with a bodice (kimao), generally very close-fitting, especially in the sleeves.

Phot. J. Bennett.
Christian girls of the Training Institution of Lemana (Northern Transvaal).

The pattern is said to have been borrowed from India. (See on the opposite page the portrait of Camilla, an old resident of Lourenço Marques, wearing the costume adopted by the women in the town and suburbs.)

Ordinary frocks are preferred by Christian converts, and so the European fashion tends to supplant the Indian, or the heathen.

As regards *men's costume* among the Ba-Ronga it was little more than the traditional smile. It consisted, in fact, of a small article made of narrow strips of palm leaf, plaited together, and could hardly be termed "clothing." This was called *mbaya* and bears a great resemblance to the "libyan sheath" which is seen on the

old Egyptian monuments (1). The last mbaya were seen in the neighbourhood of Rikatla, when the war of 1894 broke out. In the Northern clans they were still commonly used by the generation which preceded Viguet, by the Nkunas who fled before Manukosi in 1835. (See Introduction to the *Grammaire Ronga*, page 17). The Kafirs of Cape Colony were still in 1903, at this stage of dress... or rather undress, and the Pedis of the Transvaal, with their *musindu* (a mere piece of skin protecting the genitalia), are not much in advance of the mbaya stage even now. This state of affairs arose in the first place from the fact that, as yet, the sentiment of modesty had hardly been conceived. It must not be supposed, however, that morals were the more depraved for that reason ; on the contrary, they were much purer, and innocence far more general, judging from the reports of those who remember those days. 291

But a second fact which allowed the Thongas to go about without clothing, 'in puris naturalibus,' or nearly so, is the warmth of the climate ; the temperature rarely drops below 44° Fahrenheit and frequently rises to 113° F., the annual mean near Lourenço Marques being about 74° F. according to our observations extending over seven years. It is thus easy to dispense with a coat in that part of the world, and it is by no means a rare occurrence to see children in the interior absolutely naked (2). 132 291

This very primitive article of attire has, however, been supplanted by one designed by the Zulus, and worn by men up to 177 291

(1) The "phallic sheath" of the earliest Egyptian statuettes, which is also to be noticed on the engravings of the XIXth dynasty, as belonging to African populations, is not of quite the same pattern as the Thonga mbaya or the Sutho musindu. However there is a real similarity between all these primitive costumes ; many of the customs of the Bantus of to-day seem to have existed amongst the early Egyptians, and this fact shows that the origin of Egyptian civilisation is partially African. 177

(2) The Chopi tribe, which is very industrious, dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Thongas N. E. of the mouth of the Limpopo, has succeeded in obtaining a very superior kind of dress by beating the bark of the *mphama*, a kind of fig-tree which is wide-spread in the country, and which the Ba-Chopi even planted for this purpose. The pieces of bark become very soft and can be strung together. They are called *ntjalu*. Several samples of this curious stuff can be seen in the Neuchâtel Museum. Thongas used to buy the article from their Chopi neighbours, but never knew how to manufacture it. 439

291

Zulu costume. *Phot. Natal.*

177 a recent date from one end to the other of the Thonga tribe
291 (except, I am told, in some remote spots in the Hlengwe country). It consists of a belt to which are hung tails of animals, or strips of

177 skin (djobo, dji-ma), covered with hair or fur, or even the entire
291 skin of a civet cat, or antelope. The nsimba skins are in great demand, but are rather expensive, and the majority of the Ba-Ronga men wear merely two pieces of ox hide (mabebe), one in front and the other behind. Small boys often content themselves with one in front only. The young men prefer to wear them rather full, something like a petticoat! The *shifado* (Vol. I. Annotatio I) is worn with the belt of tails. This "sphaerula" is made either of carved wood or plaited milala leaves, or of a small calabash just the size required. When it is fixed in place, raw Natives consider that they have satisfied all the exigences of decency. Although much more decent than the *mbaya*, this garment of tails, or pieces of skin, is still a trifle incomplete...

Sandals of ox hide (tintango) are also an old article of dress ; they were used by hunters and travellers. They belong to the bush and it is taboo to bring them into the hubo (I. p. 355).

At the present time European costume is tending to supplant the belt of tails. The first step consists in adopting the *ladula*, a piece of stuff hanging down from the loins as far as the knees. This style of garment was still worn in 1910 by most of the young heathen round Lourenço Marques ; it was sometimes combined with the madjobo, which were still in use. But men, and especially youngsters, soon aspire to something better : trousers and jackets! (1). However ungainly the Native may appear when duly arrayed in coat and trousers, there is nothing he covets more than these garments. As they cannot all afford complete suits, they often have to be satisfied with such odds and ends as they can get from the Banyans, or pick up from their European masters. One sees them gravely walking about in worn-out long frock coats, the trousers being conspicuous by their absence. Others think themselves very fortunate if they can manage to get hold of a very much patched waistcoat with which to adorn

829 (1) The taste for European fabrics is said by thoughtful Natives to have been the cause of the loss of their independence. They support this somewhat surprising theory by the following argument : "Without this," said one of them to me, pulling the flap of my coat, "the Whites would never have conquered us ! In our wars with them there have always been some of us who would not give up these stuffs, and so made alliance with the Europeans. We were divided, and thus our power of resistance was broken."

themselves, the rest of the body remaining stark naked... except, of course, for the indispensable belt of tails. One day a Rikatla lad came to see me with an eye-glass fixed triumphantly on his forehead, and when I asked him what was the use of that article he replied, really meaning what he said : "Ndji yambalile" — "I have dressed." He intended to do me honour. The same lad came, on another occasion, wearing coquettishly on his head a lady's black lace hat, which he seemed to consider very "chic." I much preferred the get-up of an individual, by name Glas, who put a red lily in his tightly-curled hair, and made a chin strap of a flexible reed which he passed through the holes in his ears on either sides, so that it formed a sort of frame to his face. Every Thonga has already learned to know a *buluku* (trousers), a *djansi* (jacket), a *fascikoti* (apron, a corruption of the word waistcoat), a *hembe* (shirt), *masokisi* and *memeya* (stockings) and *shilembe* (hat). The majority of these words have doubtless come from the Boer dialect, and have changed somewhat in passing into the language of the Natives.

The "civilised" attain the height of bliss when they are able to procure an irreproachable suit of clothes, and it is a sight to behold these young men returning direct from Johannesburg, dressed in the latest style, with a white starched shirt, a silk cummerbund, and jacket and trousers to match. They think themselves handsome, but we do not share their illusion! How often have we not longed to see them adopt some costume suited to their colour, their customs, their occupations, and their climate! But they want to be like us, so what is to be done ? (1) Their idea of costume is evidently different from ours : they consider it as an adornment rather than as an actual protection against cold or heat. If it rains, or if it is cold, they much prefer to wrap

(1) I have heard it asserted that the adoption of European clothing by the Blacks tends to enfeeble them, even to the extent of rendering them liable to new diseases. I was assured that the introduction of tuberculosis amongst them is due to their clothes. This assertion is at least very much exaggerated. However it is certain that the exposure of their skin to the rays of the sun was extremely healthy. On the other hand, they do not know that wet clothing must be changed (they may have no second suit to put on), so they catch cold, and pneumonia or pleurisy sets in... I have also heard it stated that the second-hand, cast-off garments which traders sell them often infect them with syphilis (especially after circumcision), or other poisons.

177 themselves in the big rug (ngubo, mpisi-mpisi), which they all buy
291 to sleep under at night. The end of the process of evolution will
513 certainly be that they will adopt exactly the same dress as their European masters : a complete suit for the men, frocks, hats and boots for the women ; as soon as the majority of them obtain enough money to buy these, they will do so, and seeing how particular most of them are as regards their external appearance, it may be safely anticipated that Bantu beauties will submit to the tyranny of the London or Paris fashions as readily as our European élégantes!

291 It is easy to see the evolution of dress in the Bantu tribe by comparing the illustration of the South African woman (a Sutho, I. p. 46) representing the first stage, those of the Thonga women (I. p. 179 and 195) representing the second, Camilla, depicting a third stage (p. 92), and the ordinary European frock forming the fourth (1).

As for men, I unfortunately possess no picture of the primitive *mbaya*. But the following stages are illustrated by the two Zulu boys (p. 95) by the habitué of the Nkuna Court (I. p. 435), and by Tobane (I. p. 4) and Muhlaba (I. p. 426).

II. *Ornaments.*

301 The taste for decoration, for ornament, is innate with the Black. Ages ago, before he took to fixing a flower in his hair, he used to tatoo himself. We have already described (I. p. 178) the various patterns of *tattooing* of men and women, and have pointed

177 (1) I must however mention a piece of information which was given to me by two
286 trustworthy authorities, according to which Thongas of the Northern clans possessed in former times a kind of primitive *textile industry*. The Rev. Calvin Maphophe, who belongs to the Hlengwe group, asserted that Natives of the Tshobane clan, near the Sabie river, knew how to weave threads of cotton in order to form a kind of cloth called shombe, and another man of the Bilen plain told me that this cloth was worn by women at a time when men were satisfied with the mbayi. This industry has long since disappeared ; European cloth probably killed it as soon as it became procurable. The presence of subspontaneous plants of cotton in various parts of the country is in favour of this assertion. Where and when did these ancient Thongas obtain the precious textile plant and who taught them to use it ? This is an interesting historical point which I am afraid will never be elucidated.

302 used to shave their beards). Young men sometimes let two or three of their curls grow on their forehead like horns! Others stretch out their curls and smear them with a gluey substance obtained from the nkanye tree. This is called *ku hoba misisi*.

302 853 As regards women, those who are nursing babies regularly turn their hair into an ornament: the small curls are stretched out, smeared with fat and made to fall on the temples and on the occiput; they are then covered with ochre. This operation is called *ku hora misisi*, and the rats'tails thus produced are the *tingoya*; they are the characteristic ornament of women during the nursing period. Nursing women undoubtedly think the tingoya improve their appearance. "Look! She has *hora misisi*! How well it suits her!" people will say of a woman who has succeeded in altering her coiffure in this way. But this custom has also a ritual value (1).

Nursing women cover their whole body, their clothing, and their *ntehe* (I. p. 46) with *ochre*. The habit of anointing (tota) or smearing with ochre (tshumane) goes hand in hand with that of tingoya. This rather disgusting custom marks them as nursing, and is a protection (shisibelo) against the husband; so long as a woman covers herself with ochre, it is a sign that she will not

302 855 cohabit with him. They say also that ochre prevents the bad smell resulting from childrens' unclean habits, and that it softens the ntehe and makes the baby grow (2). The skin of children is also covered with a coating of this pigment; some say it is done not so much with the object of beautifying the child as of hiding the dirt which the mothers are too lazy to remove! No wonder that, in these conditions, it has been found that this smearing with ochre fosters conjunctivitis and other diseases!

177 302 (1) The Ngoni taught the Northern Thongas another and more elaborate way of curling the hair: the queens, wives of Gungunyana, transform their "thatch" into regular cylindrical chignons (shifoko), standing up like towers (I. p. 416). The Ba-Ronga have not adopted this custom, except, in some cases, the chiefs. (I. p. 386).

(2) It is very curious to observe that these two feminine modes of adornment, the tingoya and the ochre, have been adopted by the magicians, those who pretend to possess supernatural power in smelling out witches and treating possessed people (Part VI). They like to assume the appearance of women. People suffering from the Ba-Ndjao possession especially use ochre. Their spirits order them to do so: they would torment their victims should the latter not obey.

1 [i.e., spirit--analyst]

302 The use of ochre is, however, not restricted to nursing mothers
538 or magicians : it is the special province of young marriageable
832 girls, wishing to attract attention : their brilliant skin shines like a mirror, setting off to perfection the white of their eyes and the black of their hair, which is sometimes made flossy by means of antimony or ground charcoal. A quaint saying puts it thus :

> Shindzingeri pundjene ? -Banhwanyana tolan !...
> What says the pretty bird with the coral neck that sings in the grass ?
> It says : Girls, anoint yourselves with ochre ! (if you wish to be as beautiful as it is).

●177 Another ornament, of ancient date, is the *bracelet*. There
301 are several kinds : 1) the big heavy copper rings, called *masindana*, which greatly resemble those of the lake-dwellers, having a similar rather oval shape with an opening for slipping them over the wrist ; 2) the modern bracelets, called *busenga*, which the Rongas first bought in Natal, and which the Ma-Lemba introduced in the Northern clans ; they are made of iron wire twined round a ring of hide ; 3) the *mafowa* are more ancient, being made of seeds strung on thongs of skin, and are wound several times round the leg. This is an ornament for either dance or war.
301 The mafowa are sometimes made of the silvery cocoons of Argema Mimosae, the Queen Moth, which are found on nkanye trees, emptied of the chrysalis which is inside and filled with grains of millet which rattle when dancing!

301 *Beads* (nkarara) are evidently of later date ; they were introduced
439 by the Whites in the XVIth century, when the Portuguese were already in regular communication with Delagoa Bay and trafficked with the Natives, exchanging glassware for gold and ivory. Glass fascinated the Blacks : its brightness and transparency pleased
539 them immensely. An old song echoes their simple transports of delight :

> E ! Bashabi ! Batatana ba shabile ; ba buya ni shintshirimana sha balungoooo !..
> Hi ! Here come the buyers ! Our fathers return with their purchases ; they bring back with them the beautiful glittering things which the Whites sell !...

301 "A few years ago an ordinary glass bottle was thought a wonder by the people in the interior," said Timoteo Mandlati to me.

342 The *sill* consists simply of a piece of wood (ntjandja wa shipfalo) laid flat on the ground, with one edge raised so that the door cannot be opened outwards. It must always open inwards, doubtless with a view to facilitate the exclusion of unwelcome visitors by the simple expedient of sitting with one's back against 784 it. The threshold is not attended with taboos, excepting that of 342 the principal hut of the master of the village, beneath which

The Thonga hut. *Phot. A. Burel.*

protective drugs have been placed at the foundation of his village. It is taboo to sit on it (this may cause disease), but not to tread on 177 it. Most huts are now fitted with padlocks which are, of course, 414 of European origin. The palm wood doors are only seen in the districts where the mimale palm grows.

342 A number of small sticks are stuck in the straw crown at the top of the hut, and certainly add to the picturesque appearance of these constructions. It would seem that they are put there to hinder birds from perching on the huts, and more especially to avoid any chance visit during the night from screech-owls (ma-kuñhunu) and other nocturnal fowl, which might alight on

entrances were still smaller than those of the Ba-Ronga. To get in, it was necessary to wriggle, or at least to go on all fours (1).

As I am dealing here only with the architectural side of the subject, and do not touch on its social side, let me merely state that the hut is divided into two parts, the right half belonging to the husband and the left to the wife (I. p. 138, 187), that it is contaminated by the death of its owner, and, being looked on as a *rumbi*, a ruin, must be pierced through (I. p. 138), deprived of its crown (I. p. 145), and ritually crushed down (I. p. 157) or closed (I. p. 162, 163).

Nobody will deny that the conical roofed Thonga hut is a charming thing to see, and is wonderfully in keeping with the African scenery. To judge how "Civilisation" improves the condition of things for the Natives of South Africa, let my readers contemplate the Native village as it was a few years ago, in the vicinity of Pretoria Station. Boys working on the Railway had built a horrible mass of tiny sheds of old paraffin tins, cut and flattened for the purpose. There is no lack of imagination in these constructions, but they are a perfect illustration of what the raw Native becomes when plunged suddenly into our XXth century civilisation and attempting in his poverty and ignorance to adapt himself to it. I am glad to say that, on the Missionary Stations, where Native Christians are directed by their missionaries, they build much better houses, having learnt to mould clay into bricks, and to build ovens (I. p. 536). Some of them are good masons and know the use of the level and of the square. There has been also a considerable improvement in the type of buildings erected in Town Locations during recent years.

(1) I have previously described the *shittlanta*, storehouses of various sizes, made for storing maize and other field produce, and have given (p. 26) an illustration of two of them, especially interesting as they contain the food of Sokia, who died from a sudden attack of pulmonary tuberculosis (lifuba). The provisions which are in the large storehouse must be sold as they are contaminated and dangerous to members of his family; the small one contains mealies bought from other people for his widows, who are not allowed to consume the food of the deceased, whilst strangers have nothing to fear from it. (See for the notions of contagion, Part VI.)

Bangela (making) for the *bunana*, a sort of hammock, made of plaited milala which is hung to the branches of the trees and sometimes in summer used for sleeping in, to escape the mosquitoes which swarm inside the huts. 285 513

Runga (sewing) for the boats (byatsho, dji-ma). The ancient Native boats built before the appearance of nails, hammers and saws, were made of pieces of wood securely tied together. Some of these antiquated craft are still to be seen on the Maputju river. 285 501 322

On the rivers up country, boats are frequently made of a large piece of curved bark, bent on both sides, which will hold two or three persons. I crossed the great Letaba in a boat of this description. Such boats are also used for storing water. Where mimale branches (or nervules) are procurable, they are tied together so as to form a raft called *shikhakhafu*. These are used on the Nkomati River, and on the lakes in Ronga territory. Big rafts made of trunks of trees fastened together, and called *magudhlwana*, were used in former times on the sea, when going to meet the White men, the Ba-Godji. (See later.) They are now no longer used and there is scarcely one to be found. In the neighbourhood of Lourenço Marques the Natives now build their boats on the European model. The fishermen cut down forked branches, which serve as ribs, to which they nail planks. They are wonderfully clever at this work ; one man, Sam Matlombe, nicknamed the "King of the Bay," was particularly expert at it. [177]

The sewn boats of olden times might well be included under the heading of basket-ware. Those of to-day belong definitely to another branch of industry, and will afford us a natural point of transition from basket work to wooden articles.

III. *Wood-carving.*

It is the *nkuhlu*, mafureira tree, Trichilia emetica, as we have already seen, that is used by the Natives of these parts for their wood-carving. If the name of this tree is very hard to pronounce, its wood is, to an equal degree, soft and possesses the great 322 531

532 I do not believe any foreign influence was exercised in the
322 conception of the idea. His group is absolutely original, and, as such, shows us to what lengths the sculptural talent of the Ba-Ronga can go. This group is now in the Neuchâtel Museum.

313 While statuettes are the most elaborate products of Native
532 sculpture, *canoes* (shene (Dj.) are the largest. I have already
322 mentioned the taboos connected with the cutting of the mahogany and nkwenga trees when used for this purpose (p. 19). Other trees, the mpfubu and the muhlu, can be cut without these precautions being taken.

IV. *Metallurgy.*

172 When and how did iron reach the Ba-Ronga ? Probably we
412 shall never be able to ascertain. Tradition has it that the primitive
316 inhabitants of Nondwane, the Honwana, who cooked elephants in order to tear them in pieces, had no iron implements. Some authorities tell us that the hoe in use in olden times was of an exceedingly hard wood, wrenched I know not how from a species of teak tree called *ntjhiba*. The Natives of these parts must have passed directly from the age of wood to that of iron. There was certainly a stone age, comparable to that of the lake dwellers, in Cape Colony, where a great quantity of silex and of polished stones have been found. I never heard of any such implements having been used by the Thongas, nor found within their territory. As regards the bronze age, they have known the use of copper for a long time, but it cannot be proved that they knew it before iron.

177 Iron and other metals seem to have been first introduced in
439 Delagoa Bay by the "Godji" traders and whale fishers, of whom
316 I shall shortly speak ; they are the first White visitors whom the Natives now remember. The Ba-Ronga used to exchange fowls and other domestic animals for hoes, brass bracelets, and copper brought by the strangers, and they had found out how to make copper wire by forging (fula) the pieces bought from the "Godji."

316 Later on wrecked boats provided Native smiths with iron to make
325 hoes, axes, etc. In certain villages there were regular forges,
412 (Matlharin, near Mbengelen Island, Matjolo etc.). The hoes
436 were in the well-known form of an ace of spades and were fixed into a wooden handle, as are also the axes, and battle axes (I. p. 453). But the principal supply of iron came from the Transvaal Mountains, especially from the Northern Zoutpansberg, where the Bveshas have practised the art of mining iron ore for an unknown period. These Sutho hoes have played a great part in the history of the Thonga tribe, having been extensively used as currency for lobolo purposes.

325 These Bveshas — the word is said to be a Thonga corruption of Venda — built their furnaces in ant-hills, as shown in the accompanying illustration supplied by M. H. Gros, near Iron Mountain, East of the Spelonken district. They excavated three holes under the furnace, and blew into them by means of bellows made of a skin, the air being expelled through an antelope horn. The ore, broken in small pieces and mixed with charcoal, was smelted, crushed, smelted a second time, crushed again and made into hoes and axes, etc. Who had taught the Vendas this art? Did they learn it from the Ma-Lemba, that curious tribe, half Semitic in its customs, which invaded the Northern Transvaal during the XVIIIth century? Nobody knows for certain. I am under the impression that this art is older than that, as the Lebombo Natives, who invaded the Nondwane in the XVIth century, seem to have possessed iron weapons. The origin of iron and the date of its introduction into South Africa is still a mystery.

326 Among the ornaments illustrated will be found a very pretty belt (No. 1).[1] It is the work of a young man named Philemon, living in the outskirts of Lourenço Marques, who employed his leisure moments in making objects of this description with twisted wires of iron, brass and copper, bent in festoons and [177] fastened with small tongues of metal. European influence is doubtless very marked in these belts, but still they possess a certain cachet of their own. Amongst the Zulus as in our tribe, large cups of various descriptions, including egg-cups, are

[1] [p. 101 -- Analyst]

than collecting mafureira or wax, or tapping trees for rubber (1). 167

Moreover the fashion of going to the *Transvaal mines*, to earn money, has become so universal that a Thonga would think he had in some sort failed if he had not made a stay in town (shilungu). There, in Johannesburg, they earn £ 3 in the mines, or £ 4—£ 5 monthly as kitchen boys ; so they despise the old primitive trading expeditions which brought less money and were attended with more danger. 439

These new economic conditions not only discourage Natives from trading on their own account, reducing them more and more to the condition of mere hired labourers, but are rapidly destroying their picturesque and interesting industry. For a few shillings they can buy European utensils. Their attractively carved spoons are replaced by ugly tin ones ; their wooden tumblers by less artistic enamelled ones, their primitive plates by European ware decorated in doubtful taste. Instead of the piece of reed which they wore in their ears as a snuff box, they now buy brass cartridges, and the Thonga beauties, discarding the *tihuhlu* fat, now anoint themselves with a scented oil imported from Europe. There may be certain advantages in these changes, but the picturesqueness of Bantu life promptly disappears, together with the incentive to develop their Native arts and crafts! 177 439

E. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON NATIVE INDUSTRY.

It is a strange destiny, that of these African races amongst whom the civilisation of the XIXth century has appeared, effecting the most radical changes in the minds and manners of people who, for centuries, perhaps for tens of centuries, have remained in the same primitive condition, marking time, so to speak, on the same spot, or, at most, 178

(1) There are at least two species of shrubs whose sap, when hardened, produces excellent rubber. These are fairly wide-spread and M. Dewèvre, a Belgian botanist, who has made a special study of rubber plants, and to whom I sent leaves and fruits of the trees, has classified them amongst the Landolphia. One is said to be a Landolphia Petersiana, and the other a variety of the Landolphia Kirki (Dyer) called by others Landolphia Monteiroi. Natives make an incision in the bark of the tree, and a milky sap exudes, which soon thickens and the somewhat sticky filaments are then wound 137 314

V. *Dramatic poetry.*

This is perhaps too lofty a term by which to designate the kind of songs, or other literary productions, which I am going to describe. Primitive folk have no theatre, no elaborate tragedies or comedies. But our tribe certainly possesses the rudiments of histrionic art in the dances accompanied by songs, which are called *tinsimu ta Ronge*, the songs of Ronge. The word *Ronge* does not seem to be related in any way to Ronga. It is applied to an old collection of songs in which dancing played the principal part and which were quite peculiar to the clans of the Coast. They were performed after harvest, when the storehouses were full and when the Ba-Ronga bid themselves : "Eat, drink and be merry!" Boys and girls used to remain in the bush for many weeks learning these dances, in a kind of school, which may have taken the place of the circumcision school ; the latter has been suppressed for more than a century in these districts. I say, these songs *were* performed, — because they are now fast disappearing, having been replaced by Zulu songs, called *mudjatu* and *muthimbo*. These are, in their turn, giving way to new dances called *gumpsa*, in which young boys and girls put on milala palm leaf dresses. These were the great novelty in 1908 and pupils of the Mission schools were deserting them to play gumpsa. Another new dance is called *shiloyi*, and consists in the imitation of boatmen : the performers sit down and execute movements similar to those of sailors pulling a boat, to the accompaniment of song. The *shindjekandjeka* was another dance executed by the wives of Mubvesha (I, p. 287). Most of these dances take place in the capital, and the Chief summons all the boys to take part in them. This is not absolutely obligatory, but should any one begin the training, and then leave before it is finished, he will be fined. No doubt these complicated dances mark the beginning of a theatre, as will be seen shortly : they at any rate give the impression of an organised ballet.

Many of the songs refer to *historical events* in the life of the clan, or to by-gone occurrences, almost forgotten, and it is for

What is the connection between abnormal births of human beings and the rain-fall? I think it can be found in the conception of Heaven which has inspired so many curious rites, and which I shall explain in the next chapter. So it is possible that, after all, the mbelele rite has a religious idea at its base.

b) *Rain charms.*

The removal of the corpses of abnormal children from dry ground and their burial near the river probably sometimes proves ineffective to produce rain. So Bantu magicians have invented a great many charms to obtain the greatly desired showers, and the power of the rain-makers is enormous. Our tribe does not seem to have developed this art as much as others. The Sutho-Pedis are masters in this domain and Mankhelu, who had been taught by them and had become a great and renowned rain-maker, revealed all his secrets to me. He possessed the drug and used it frequently, he said, having often been called in by Sutho chiefs dwelling in far distant districts, as far off as Pretoria. He assured me that he had met with so much success that these chiefs had given him oxen, horses, a waggon, precious beads, etc.! Where had he found this marvellous drug? At Rivimbi (in Venda : Luvimbi), a country north of Spelonken, not far from the Limpopo and to which he went, as far as I could make out, in 1865 or 1866. The Luvimbi people are the descendants of Luvimbi, (1) a chief of the old times (as old as Nkuna, says Mankhelu) who, after his death, went to heaven and became king of he[illegible] he still exists there as a spirit, hearing and knowing every[illegible]at is done on earth. This Luvimbi is probably the same whom the Vendas call the first man, and concerning whom they have a number of traditions which I shall mention a little later.

and those of still-born children or those who died at birth; to these they add their old rags (perhaps the cloths used for their menses?); they bring all these impurities to the cross-ways and burn them there, singing impure songs, saying: "To-day is a great day! There is no taboo any more! If you prohibit anything, it will be an insult to the rain; it will not fall." The smoke of all that they have burnt constitutes a religious offering: now the country will be pure and the rain will fall. The conception prevailing among the Malulekes is somewhat different from that of the Rongas.

(1) I have published an account of the Venda traditions connected with Luvimbi or Raluvimbi in *The S. A. Journal of Science*, April 1921, where more details will be found concerning this personage.

789 to be black. The heart was pierced with a puncheon and the blood flowed. He carefully washed the horns with the blood and smeared them later on (horola) with the "psanyi" found in the intestines of the animal. Then he took his *ntsiko*, viz., the two pieces of wood which served as his flint, poured a little of the powder into the notch of the female stick and made fire by the rapid friction described on p. 34. In the meantime Mankhelu prayed as follows: "Here are the drugs, Rivimbi of Tsome (Rivimbi's father)! Give us rain." Then he invoked his own gods, saying: "Go to Rivimbi for me and come along here all of you to make the rain fall." This performance is a "mhamba," a means of calling the gods, especially Rivimbi, "the master of this mhamba." After a while the wood began to burn; leaves of the "nembe-nembe" bush (Cassia petersiana) were placed on it and a black smoke rose and ascended to heaven. Then the clouds appeared and soon the thunderstorm broke. A feather of the ndlati bird of lightning was placed amongst the leaves as a protection against thunderbolts.

Mankhelu was absolutely convinced of the efficacy of this means of rain-making, and there seems to be more sense in this rite than in many others. To use the sea to cause rain to
[821] fall, is not after all so absurd! I would not assert that Natives have a clear idea as to the formation of clouds, *mapapa* (Dj.), *matlabi* (Ro.), and know that the water from above comes from the water below, but at any rate they know that the sea is water and rain is
[822] also water. To obtain rain by smoke rising from burning sea products is a procedure which is in keeping with one of the most common beliefs of primitive man, that like produces like, a belief which has found its expression in the famous principle of the old physicians: "Similia similibus curantur."

When practising his rain-making art at home, Mankhelu proceeded with less ceremonial pomp. After having consulted his bones, he took four leaves of the tjeke plant (p. 14), smeared them with the magical powder and exposed them to the rays of the burning sun. As soon as these leaves were fully dry, "Heaven began to roar" and the rain came.

●[177] The great rain medicine is of Pedi or Venda origin. In addition

825 They come up to him and wonder how he got there. By this rite
777 he has prevented the misfortune which the antelope would have caused to the travellers."

B. CONCEPTIONS REGARDING MAN.

I. *The origin of man.*

773 While the Thonga mind is very little puzzled by the question of the creation of heaven and earth, the origin of man preoccupies it more deeply. I must now enter into some details as to the story of human origin which has been already mentioned (I. p. 21). It contains two parts : the creation of man and the cause of death.

1) The creation of man.

The first human beings came out of the *lihlanga*, the reed, as some say, or the *nhlanga*, the marsh of reeds, according to others. These two versions seem to answer to two different conceptions. The first is that one man and one woman suddenly came out of one reed, which exploded (baleka), and there they were! According to the second, men of different tribes emerged from a marsh of reeds, each tribe already having its peculiar costume, implements and customs. So when you ask about the origin of the iron hoe amongst the Vendas, who possessed it before the Thongas, you will be told : "The Vendas emerged from the marsh of reeds holding them" (1).

The first man and woman are called in the Northern clans

777 (1) I believe the first version to be the true Thonga one. It may be that the idea that all races came out of the marsh of reeds is an alteration of the primitive conception under Nyai influence. The Ba-Nyai say that all men emerged from a big hole, the hole of Myali or Nwari, in the earth, at a time when stones and rocks were still so soft that foot-prints remained marked on them. It has been supposed that the myth of the reed is simply an allusion to a physiological phenomenon, but I do not believe this.

introduced fire and the culinary art into the world! This idea is interesting and seems to show that, to the Native mind, the cooking of food is the pursuit which differentiates man from the animals.

In the clans of Maluleke and Spelonken there is a third tradition relating to the first man, but it has certainly been borrowed from the Venda or Pedi tribes. They say the first man was *Rivimbi* and his son *Khudjana* (name transformed into Hobyana according to Thonga phonetics). The Thongas only say that Hobyana is the creator of Heaven and Earth and the first ancestor of the race. But the Vendas and Pedis have a number of traditions about these two heroes (1).

2) The cause of death.

When the first human beings emerged from the marsh of reeds, the chief of this marsh sent the Chameleon (Lumpfana) to them, with this message: "Men will die, but they will rise again." The Chameleon started walking slowly, according to his habit. Then the big lizard with the blue head, the Galagala, was sent to tell men: "You shall die and rot." Galagala started with his swift gait and soon passed Lumpfana. He delivered his message, and when Lumpfana arrived with his errand, men said to him: "You are too late. We have already

(1) Here is one of the most curious of these traditions, a strange story indeed, when we reflect that these two personages are the great gods who created the universe! Once, in olden times, Khudjana planted a big pole in the earth, and passed spokes through it, right to the top. Rivimbi having climbed up, Khudjana took out the lower spokes and went home. His father being unable to get down, the son stole the food prepared for him and ate it at his ease. Then he again put the spokes in their places and the old man came home. But when he wished to have his meal, he found that nothing was left. His wife then gave him Khudjana's portion!

There is great confusion amongst these traditions. According to Mankhelu this Rivimbi, or Luvimbi, is the same as the great rain-maker to whose descendants he went to obtain the rain medicine (p. 320). He is not only the creator of the earth, but the protector of all men, who are his sons. So, if some one wishes to harm a man who is not guilty, the Vendas say to him: "Do not kill Luvimbi's man." If you steal a partridge caught in a trap which was not set by you, they say: "Luvimbi, who stands on that tree, sees you." He would seem to be a superior being, a god (shikwembu), even the chief of gods, endowed with omnipresence and omniscience. Moreover there is a relation between Rivimbi and Nwali, the Ba-Nyai god, who is represented either as father or son of Rivimbi, or identical with him. It may be that the Rivimbi tradition, which is both Pedi and Venda and seems to refer definitely to a first ancestor who has become the great god, has been mixed with the Nwali tradition, which is Nyai, so that ideas of different origins have been intermingled.

787 *timpfu*, a non-castrated ram : the sons of the royal family, the
825 εὐγενεῖς! (bana ba-ku-psalwa). 3) Another *Shikwela*, astragalus of the ram sacrified during the Sikororo war, the one whose psanyi was used for the sprinkling of the Nkuna army ; it designates the enemy, and is watched with special attention when casting the bones in connection with military affairs. 4) *Noni wa timpfu*, an old sheep, the widow of the chief. 5) *Nhombela ya timpfu*, a young sheep, the girls of the royal family. As regards the wife of the chief, she is represented by the astragalus of the female mhala antelope.

787 In one of his sets of bones Mankhelu also had two objects
177 taken *from an ox*. One was an oval-shaped smooth bone, two
771 inches long, the other, one of its hoofs decorated on one of its three sides with triangular marks (See plate). Both represent the *Nkuna* tribe, whose totem is the buffalo. (Comp. I. p. 364.) But this is a custom borrowed from the Sutho-Pedis. I never saw bones corresponding to totems used in Thonga divination ; the idea of totem is altogether absent from the minds of the Thongas when not influenced by their Pedi neighbours.

787 In addition to those of the domestic animals, there are a number
825 of astragalus, or other bones, taken from *wild animals*.

First from *antelopes* : the male *mhala*, *tsombe ra mhala*, means the chief, and the female mhala, his wife ; the male mhunti, *tsombe ra mhunti*, *mhunti ya matlhari*, the duiker of the weapons, means fighting men, and the female mhunti, called *mbiri*, means women of loose character : *mbiri ya ku tola, nwashifamba ni mafura eku rimen*, the woman who smears herself with grease and ochre, even when she goes to her field (thus trying to attract the attention of men). The *nhlangu* (reed buck), wandering about during the night, means wizards, as these cast their spells by night. Mankhelu had only the astragalus of the female in his set. The *mbalala* antelope dwells in the forest ; it does not like to come out in the plains ; its astragalus therefore designates the chief who rests in his hut and does not expose himself to the toil and the heat of the day.

The astragalus of the *ngolube ya ku dya marambo, yi tjela mitshi yi ralarala, yi languta hi matlhelo*, the wild boar which eats bones,

then in force, as they are found almost identical amongst Semitic peoples, as shown in Leviticus. The hierarchy must have soon followed the institution of patriarchism, and of the clan. Witchcraft probably existed ; it must have been a belief of primitive humanity, as it is still present in a very similar form amongst peasants and uncultured people in civilised lands. We have the right to suppose also that astragalomancy was practised. Some features of the Thonga language show that mythological conceptions then prevailed which seem to have almost entirely disappeared at the present time (I. p. 36, II. p. 306). This period must have lasted for tens, perhaps hundreds of centuries, until the South African tribes, after endless migrations, reached their present abode, probably pushing the early occupants towards the South ; at the end of the XVth century we find the Thonga tribe located near Delagoa Bay (1).

The third period is inaugurated by the invasion by the clans mentioned in our Introduction. White men appear, trade begins, stuffs are adopted by women, the men retaining their mbaya. Iron is introduced both by these invaders and by the White whale-fishers and traders. Agriculture undergoes a new development ; so also do military tactics,

Transvaal, in the beginning of the XVIIIth century, having been introduced by the Ma-Lemba about 1750. In spite of this, the Pedis call it *khugu*, the same word as *luku* in Thonga, Ur-Bantu *kuku*. The name of the thing may have been introduced at the same time as the thing itself, and incorporated by undergoing the phonetic permutations required by the dialect (Compare *Folklore*, Sept. 1908, The Balemba).

(1) The *Lourenço Marques Guardian*, in a very favourable review of Vol. I (Oct. 7, 1912), expresses the regret that I have not dwelt at greater length on the first origin and migrations of the Thonga tribe. The writer thinks that this was formerly a much larger tribe "the basic element in the Hamitic invasion of the coastal region." As far as I know, no document exists on which evidence on such questions could be based. The Portuguese chronicles of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries describe a state of things which is quite modern compared with the first Bantu invasion of South Africa, that of the *Zimbi*, to which Masoudi's "Golden Meadows" makes an allusion, A. D. 943. When the Portuguese travellers reached the shore of Delagoa Bay, the stream of migration had already taken an Eastern or North-Eastern direction (I. p. 23). — As regards inferences drawn from the wide-spread term *Thonga* (Ronga, Tonga), I think they have very little value ; this word probably means "people of the East," as *Kalanga* means people of the North. It is applied by Natives to those tribes which dwell eastwards of them, whatever their origin may be. It is a geographical designation, like the term Orientals, and discloses nothing as regards the ethnological features of the tribes to which it is applied. In fact, as regards language, customs, folklore, there is much less affinity between our Thongas, the Tongas of Inhambane, and the Tongas of Zambesi than between them and the Zulus.

We must be content to remain ignorant of facts as to which there exists no reliable record.

THE EVOLUTION OF

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	Costume	Implements Weapons	Food	Trade	State	Family system
1st Period (Pre-Bantu)	*Men.* Mbaya? *Women.* Skins?	Wooden clubs?	Fruits and roots.	?	Nomadic.	Female descent.
2d Period Ur-Bantu till 1500	id.	Pottery. Basket work. Wooden hoes? Bows? Wooden pillow.	Goat. Millet, Pumpkins. Game caught in traps.	Exchange of wares for produce.	Agricultural.	Male descent.
3d Period 1500-1820	*Men:* Mbaya. *Women:* Skirts of cloth.	Pottery. Basket work. Iron hoes and assagais. Bows.	Goat. Sheep? Ox? Millet. Sorghum? Beans?	Godji (p. 142). *Sales:* Amber, Ivory, Skins, etc. *Purchases:* Stuff, Beads, Copper, Iron.	id.	Patriarchate. Lobolo. Polygamy.
4th Period 1820-1910	*Men:* Zulu belt. *Women:* Skirts. Keimao.	id. Guns. Bows disappear.	id. Maize, Peas, Bananas, Mangoes, etc.	S. Mafureira, India-rubber, Skins. Commercial expeditions. Introduction of European money.	Agricultural. Yearly military expeditions in Gaza.	id. Decrease of Polygamy.
1910	Increase of European dress.	Increase of European implements. Decrease in Native arts and crafts.	id. European food. Alcohol.	Decrease of Native trade.	Work in towns.	id. Family life injured by the long absence of men.

the Natives now possessing better weapons. Decided progress has certainly taken place all round, the invading population being superior in civilisation to the old one. The Thonga language is definitely formed with its six dialects. Folklore is enriched by the contributions of all the various clans. Ancestrolatry still reigns in the religious beliefs, with a relatively clear notion of Heaven and of an All-Father. This change was gradual until 1820.

THE THONGA TRIBE

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Tribal system	Military system	Language	Folklore	Religion	Taboo	Magic
Totemism ?	?	?	?	Ancestrolatry. All-Father ?	Sympathetic.	?
Clan.	?	Ur-Bantu ? Sex-denoting suffixes. 11 Classes of Nouns. Formation of Thonga.	Mythological conceptions. Tales.	Ancestrolatry. All-Father.	Physiological. Hierarchic. Agricultural.	Witchcraft. Astragalomancy.
Invasion of neighbouring clans.	Lineal formation. Skirmishes.	Thonga. 8 Classes of Nouns. Six dialects.	Decrease of Mythology. Rich folklore.	Ancestrolatry. Clearer notion. of Tilo, All-Father.	id.	id.
Formation and disappearance of military kingdoms. Dual Control. (I. p. 542).	Zulu circular formation. Cruel wars.	Progress of Ronga dialect. Adoption of European expressions (Portuguese Dutch and English).	Addition of Asiatic and Portuguese elements.	Ancestrolatry. Tilo conception less clear. Christianity. Islam. Possessions.	id. Military.	id. Possessions.
Authority of chiefs decreases. Increase of the number of detribalised Natives.	Decrease of military and political spirit.	id.	id.	id. Progress of Christianity.	Severity. of taboos decreases.	id.

Fourth period. At this time a new period begins, owing to the profound disturbance caused by the invasion of the Ngoni army under Manukosi. The men's costume changes. The clans are amalgamated under the Zulu conqueror. The military spirit increases. War, accompanied by bloodshed and all the Zulu war-panoply, replaces the skirmishes of former times. In Gazaland the year is divided into two halves, one for agricultural labour, the other for the military plundering

174 expeditions organised by the Ngoni kings. Foreign elements increase
177 in number and power. Asiatic and Portuguese influences begin to be felt. A considerable Native trade develops in Lourenço Marques. The Ronga clans dwelling near the town acquire more influence. This brings us up to the present time, which I need not describe more fully.

In 1920, we see European civilisation invading the whole territory of the tribe, by leaps and bounds, and the changes, which in previous decades had been slow, becoming rapid and profound. The tribe loses its coherence more and more ; the authority of the chief decreases and that of the White Commissioner increases. Taboos and ancestor-gods no longer receive much credence ; Islam makes some recruits, owing to intermarriage, and Christianity pushes forward its Missions. The few indications given in this part of the table show the trend of evolution at the present time.

This outline of the development of the tribe — an outline which is submitted, I repeat, with the utmost reserve, — does not confirm the opinion generally held in former times regarding Black tribes, i. e., that they are in a state of utter degeneracy. On the contrary, *a slow progress* may be observed, generally due to outside influences, notwithstanding the fact of long industrial stagnation ; this progress has been so marked in agriculture, in the family and in the social system, that it is no longer possible to describe the Bantus as absolute Primitives. They would be more fittingly spoken of as Semi-Primitives. On the other hand, there seems to have been almost complete *immobility* in the religious domain, even a process of degeneration, if the old monotheistic idea has really become less clearly defined in the last century. Folklore has been enriched, but, as a whole, the mental and spiritual life has evolved very little. Of course I do not mention the quite modern changes brought about by missionary enterprise and Islam propaganda.

II. *How far can the South African Tribe withstand the new condition of things brought about by Twentieth-Century Civilisation ?*

177 There have been more changes in the South African tribe during the last fifty years than during the fifty or five hundred preceding centuries, and this process of transformation is bound to continue at a geometrical

rate of progression during the fifty years to come. Taking into consideration for a moment the real and permanent interests of the Native, let us ask to what probable goal this transformation is leading him. I leave on one side for the present the influence of missionary enterprise. 177

Civilisation has certainly brought some *blessings* to the tribe, and I have carefully and impartially noted these ; the disappearance of deadly famines, owing to the development of trade ; better clothing (this is a mixed blessing) ; better seeds and agricultural implements (plough) ; the possibility of earning money ; the incentive to work in order to pay taxes, (Natives would certainly not call this a blessing!) ; the decrease of polygamy ; and the broadening of ideas, consequent on travelling and work in towns.

But the *curses* of civilisation far exceed its blessings for the South African Native : he has lost more through it than he has gained. Amongst them are the loss of political interest and responsibility (I. p. 543) ; the loss of hierarchic respect for the chiefs and elder brothers; the loss of personal dignity ; in addition may be noticed a decrease of religious faith and respect for taboos.

Further, the vices of Civilisation have found a lamentably ready welcome on the part of these Primitives : alcoholism of a degraded type (on the Coast), onanism, sodomy (in the Compounds), looseness of morals, — and these have caused new and very dangerous diseases which are now quickly spreading amongst them : alcoholic cachexy, syphilis, a great increase of consumption, due to the work in towns, not to speak of the criminal instincts which have developed under these influences (II. p. 610), murder, and rape (hence the Black peril, unknown in the primitive state). The tribe has lost its standards and traditions and moral and physical results have quickly followed.

To help it in the fight against these new and terrible foes, the Black race fortunately possesses considerable physical strength and great fertility. But these may not necessarily last for ever. They are capable of being lost. We find the Mpongwe tribe, in French Congo, fast disappearing as a result of a longer contact with the debasing influence of the Whites ; the birth-rate is reduced to almost nothing and this formerly large tribe will probably die out in the course of one or two generations.

I cannot conceal the fact that I consider the situation of the South African tribe, under present conditions, as very serious. If these influences are not checked, I believe that the extinction of the race is

possible in the long run, and I think every thoughtful observer will come to the same conclusion (1). Ought not steps to be taken by the Government to check the progress of the evil? Would not a policy of segregation for instance, be desirable ? Or, would it not be in the interest of the Natives to remove them to tropical Africa, leaving South Africa to the White man? These questions have been discussed at length in South African papers, and I have nothing to say about them except that such steps seem to be absolutely impracticable. I am convinced that the only remedy for these deadly perils is the formation, in the Black tribe, of a strong moral character, accompanied by sufficient enlightment of mind to enable the Native himself to perceive the danger, and to overcome it.

* * *

Various ways have been suggested to attain this goal. Leaving aside the eugenic effort suggested by D. Kidd, in his Kafir Socialism, we may mention what is called the *Gospel of Work* which some people have recommended. Let the Natives be forced to work with their hands, and their character will soon improve! There is much truth in this theory, and I believe regular manual work is a blessing for the Blacks as it is for any other race. Let us remark however that this "Gospel" is not always preached with the sole idea of benefiting the Black race. Moreover, even if it were possible to enforce labour on the South African Bantus, in this age of liberty, what would be the ultimate result? Would it really transform them? As soon as they could rid themselves of the obligation, they would run away and become worse than before. Labour is a great educator, provided the worker is in agreement with the law of labour, and this agreement can only be obtained when the heart of the savage is changed by a power of another kind.

* * *

In the conclusion to Volume I, I have myself advocated the grant to the Native of certain political rights which were after all very modest ;

(1) These remarks apply especially to the Thonga tribe. The situation of the Zulu and Sutho tribes is better, in as much as the sale of intoxicants is prohibited amongst them. However, many of the dangers here described threaten those tribes also.

177.10 ---- 177.88

l: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

lobola money. But they learn to spend money on other things, and those who are converts to Christianity become regular purchasers of clothing, of better food, of books. The high taxation to which they are subjected also forces them to work. As long as this does not exceed a reasonable limit, and as long as the State causes the Native community to benefit by the high taxes levied on it, it is justifiable although this way of enforcing labour is not so normally healthy as the creation of new wants (1). Another powerful influence which tends to make men work more and to relieve women from the toil of tilling the fields, is this. Wishing to make money by selling grain, the Natives are beginning to clear larger fields than before, and we note with pleasure that they have adopted the use of the plough instead of the hoe in a great many quarters. The consequence of this change is that the men now do

(1) Another means has been used to obtain the same result, i. e. compulsory labour (in Thonga *shibalu*). It is not at all my intention to treat this important but delicate subject here. The League of Nations created in 1924 a special Slavery Commission which has very ably and fully discussed the whole subject. These discussions have resulted in a Convention which was adopted by the Assembly of 1926; art. 5, which deals with forced labour, runs as follows:

The High Contracting Parties recognise that recourse to compulsory or forced labour may have grave consequences and undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage, to take all necessary measures to prevent compulsory or forced labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery.

It is agreed that:

(1) Subject to the transitional provisions laid down in paragraph (2) below, compulsory or forced labour may only be exacted for public purposes.

(2) In territories in which compulsory or forced labour for other than public purposes still survives, the High Contracting Parties shall endeavour progressively and as soon as possible to put an end to the practice. So long as such forced or compulsory labour exists, this labour shall invariably be of an exceptional character, shall always receive adequate remuneration, and shall not involve the removal of the labourers from their usual place of residence.

(3) In all cases, the responsibility for any recourse to compulsory or forced labour shall rest with the competent central authorities of the territory concerned.

The League of Nations has thus established the general principles, and nearly thirty States have already signed the Convention; amongst these we note with pleasure Great Britain and Portugal. Now the question has been transferred to the International Labour Office, which must deal with the application of the Convention. A special Committee of experts has been elected and it is hoped that it will fix general principles for Coloured Labour, which shall be submitted to the General Labour Conference in a not distant future.

I am glad to add that the Portuguese Government has recently issued a decree (No 12.533) which has been published in the *Bolletim official da Moçambique*, November 1926, and which contains the following article (Art. 5, § unico): *Compulsory labour is only permitted when absolutely indispensable, for works of public interest and of undeniable urgency. This labour will be remunerated according to circumstances.*

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

175 drade followed into the Khosen country and defeated them on the 8th September 1895, at the battle of Magule (See page 471).

The Ngoni king, Gungunyana, had more or less encouraged the rebels to rise. When asked to give them up to the Portuguese he refused to do so. So the war had to be carried up to his stronghold of Mandlakazi. During many weeks the whole of Gungunyana's army, which was estimated at 25,000 to 30,000 men, camped near its king, ready to fight. But, for some unknown reason, the Portuguese army was delayed and the Thonga battalions, having nothing to eat, broke up. However, a strong bodyguard, the flower of the great king's troops, consisting principally of Ba-Ngoni, remained at the headquarters. When at last the Portuguese arrived in the neighbourhood of Mandlakazi, a sharp fight took place. The Ngoni warriors gallantly attacked the Portuguese square but were driven back with great loss, (305 killed, according to the official report). The royal kraal, Mandlakazi, was taken and destroyed and Gungunyana fled to Tshayimiti, the sacred wood where his ancestors were buried. Some weeks later, Captain Musinho d'Albuquerque, after a forced march, took him prisoner without any fighting, and brought him to Lourenço Marques, whence he was deported to Western Africa.

175 The Ba-Ngoni considered that they had been taken by surprise and
63 not properly defeated ; so, in 1897, a serious revolt broke out, headed by
P. Magigwane, the Commander-in-Chief of Gungunyana's yimpi. But it
177. was soon successfully put down by the Portuguese forces, who divided
63 up the country into a certain number of military zones, and the districts of Lourenço Marques and Inhambane have been perfectly quiet ever since.

175 2. *The Sikororo war* took place, in 1901, in the Shiluvane country, during the Anglo-Boer war, when the north of the Transvaal was, as it were, without white rulers. The successor of the famous Sekukuni, reigning in the Leydensburg district, Sekhukhukhu, tried to avail himself of the unsettled state of the country to realise an old political dream, viz., to become the paramount chief of the whole country. He interfered with the Maharimane clan, which inhabited the Drakensberg ranges, where the Oliphant crosses them before reaching the plain. This clan was divided into two : the legitimate heir was under the tutelage of a woman named Ñwanamohube, but his brother, Maphephe, wished to get rid of her, stating that she was exercising her authority against the interests of the country. Sekhukhukhu assured the queen-regent that he would help her if she joined him. He

177 Governments have everywhere placed Native Commissioners to watch over their coloured subjects. This has put *an end to the tribal wars.* Natives are no longer allowed to indulge in their old fighting customs. They may avail themselves of a war between Europeans to square up old accounts with each other, as happened during the Anglo-Boer war, but they are forbidden to follow the war-path any longer. In many parts of South Africa they have even been disarmed. This change, as a whole, is a favourable one. Native wars never brought blessing to the race. It tends however to destroy one of the springs of patriotism, and in this way it impoverishes the Native mind.

643 195 621 p. 177. 64 *c)* These Native Commissioners have placed a very effective check, not only upon the military tendencies of the tribe, but upon *the power of its chiefs.* The authority of the chief in the clan has certainly been diminished. In some instances he has been deposed, or banished in consequence of war, and the tribe has remained without a head and without force, as it were emasculated, and unable to guide itself. As Mankhelu said: "Our chief is the forest into which we retreat! Without him we are but women!" This was sadly noticeable in the case of the Zihlahla or Mpfumo clan, which was perhaps the most developed of all the Ronga kingdoms and which suffered most from the 1894-96 war. Its young chief Ñwamantibyane was caught and deported to some spot in Eastern Africa, and the clan was dismembered, a great number of men emigrating to the Transvaal; the others remained dissatisfied but powerless in their old territory, and were incorporated with Matjolo or Mabota.

643 681 692 p. 177. 69 Even when the Native chief is maintained in his position by the Whites, his power is curtailed. As a judge, he is no longer allowed to inflict capital punishment. His tribunal only judges minor cases, and beside and beyond him, there is a further appeal, the Court of the White Commissioner, which is ready to consider every important case. Should the Native chief be unjust or selfish in his decisions, the subjects will go more and more to the White tribunal. It may be that their claims will not be so well understood as in their own *hubo*, but they will perhaps meet with fairer treatment. Shrewd and clever Native Commissioners thus succeed in attracting more applicants to their residences than the chief to his capital (1). This dual control leads to a progressive loosening of the tribal tie.

(1) This was the case for instance in Nondwane. The unjust and egoistical rule of Mubvesha compelled many of his subjects to go "shikanekiswen," viz., to the Portuguese Administrator of Moralven.

3) The Punishment of Witchcraft.

754 What is the punishment inflicted on those convicted of the
683 crime of witchcraft? Let us remember that this is a crime, an act of homicide, doubly punishable by the Court. Chief Shiluvane had definitely prohibited it by a decree in the following words: "I do not allow anyone to die in my country except on account of old age. So let the baloyi at once cease their enchantments, or I shall kill them all." In former times the crime of witchcraft was punished by death and the culprit was immediately hanged. (The last to be punished in this way, in the Nkuna clan, was Mudebane (I. p. 443), and Mankhelu himself executed him.) The wizards are impaled or drowned, as the case may be. Flogging and banishment were also resorted to when the crime was not so heinous. In Khosen wizards were expelled from the villages and roamed about the country, sleeping in the ruins, mocked at and insulted by the children, and oxen sinews were tied round their biceps so tightly that they entered their flesh and caused great suffering.

177.68 One of my informants (Fenis), who drank the mondjo at the death of Zihlahla, chief of the Mpfumo district, about 1870, told me that the heaviest penalty imposed on the wizards on that occasion was a fine of one or two goats, or of one pound sterling. He attributed this leniency to the proximity of the Whites. The civilised Governments in Africa have certainly done their best to put down this method of smelling-out wizards, and their efforts have been by no means without result. Native chiefs are now content with fining the wizards £ 10 or £ 15, half of which remains in their own pockets. I heard of one of them who claimed to be a Christian, but did not object to the substantial increase to his civil list brought about by witchcraft suits.

IV. *Concluding Remarks on Witchcraft.*

754 Witchcraft is one of the greatest curses of Native Life. I attribute the
182 enormous hold which this superstition has taken on the mind of the Bantu to three causes: 1) The *Animistic beliefs* explained on p. 367

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643 175 631 P. 177. 64 *c)* These Native Commissioners have placed a very effective check, not only upon the military tendencies of the tribe, but upon *the power of its chiefs.* The authority of the chief in the clan has certainly been diminished. In some instances he has been deposed, or banished in consequence of war, and the tribe has remained without a head and without force, as it were emasculated, and unable to guide itself, As Mankhelu said: "Our chief is the forest into which we retreat! Without him we are but women!" This was sadly noticeable in the case of the Zihlahla or Mpfumo clan, which was perhaps the most developed of all the Ronga kingdoms and which suffered most from the 1894-96 war. Its young chief Ñwamantibyane was caught and deported to some spot in Eastern Africa, and the clan was dismembered, a great number of men emigrating to the Transvaal; the others remained dissatisfied but powerless in their old territory, and were incorporated with Matjolo or Mabota.

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bition of those which are prejudicial to public health, whether on account of a too high percentage of alcohol, on account of their mode of manufacture, or on account of the physical and moral disorders which they produce." 733

These proposals were favourably received by the Committee for the Colonies, but no vote was taken on details, only a general resolution being passed. It is clear that these recommendations are intended for the whole Native population. In the domain of the Church we should go much further, as pointed out above.

II. On the Problem of Native Education.

The study which we have made of the Bantu Intellect in Part V has paved the way for a consideration of this great question, which is one of the most important features of the Native problem in South Africa. 871 177-87

The wild buffalo has been made prisoner! A yoke has been placed on its neck. — The savage mind of the Bantu is now being trained to civilised methods, and the Elementary School gathers in the goatherds of the bush, all over South Africa. More than 220,000 children are attending a course of instruction. The wild buffalo has bowed its neck to the yoke with wonderful readiness! It is one of the promising features of the present situation of the Black race that it has so quickly accepted the school. This acceptance proves its vitality; it understands that the acquisition of knowledge is, for it, the only way of adapting itself to altered circumstances. So, though primary education has nowhere yet been made compulsory, children are leaving their flocks and learning reading, writing, and arithmetic. This phenomenon is universal, and is to be observed not only in the towns, where big boys of twenty or thirty years of age crowd to the evening schools, patiently writing letters on slates with clumsy fingers, but in the most remote parts of the country, wherever a missionary or a Native teacher opens a school.

This spread of instruction is bound to have great results for the future of the race, and its intellectual development; it is therefore of the utmost importance that rational and wise methods should be adopted in the conduct of this work, in order to help rather than injure the Bantu mind. Unfortunately it cannot be said that such has always been the case in past times. To avoid mistakes and errors I beg to put forward the following suggestion as to the first principle of Native Education.